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THE INSIDE STORY



It took some serious arm-twisting from Sen. Howard Baker to keep the breeder reactor alive.

Pork revival: The Clinch River plant rides again

By Sheila Hershow

WASHINGTON

Late this month the House Science and Technology Committee will cast a vote that could help sink the multi-billion dollar Clinch River breeder reactor, one of the federal government's most durable and least defensible projects. To bail out the breeder, the nuclear industry and the utilities are pushing an "alternate financing" plan that has been billed as a way to boost industry's share of the costs while lifting the burden from the taxpayer. But Clinch River opponents fear the scheme will almost certainly end up milking the government for additional hundreds of millions of dollars through tax breaks, loans and tricky accounting practices.

Clinch River is a case study in how a pork-barrel project survives. Except for a few brief days last December, it seemed that Congress was finally prepared to jettison the controversial project. In fact, on December 14, a jubilant coalition of free-market conservatives, labor officials and environmentalists uncorked the champagne in the Capitol to celebrate a precedent-setting victory: the House had just voted 217 to 196 to kill the Clinch River reactor.

To its opponents, the still-to-be-built Tennessee experimental reactor was a symbol of waste. Costs for the plutonium-producing reactor had zoomed from an original estimate of \$699 million to the Department of Energy's most recent \$3.6 billion projection. The General Accounting Office said a more realistic figure would top \$8 billion.

Rep. Lawrence Coughlin, a Pennsylvania Republican, had offered the amendment to kill Clinch River and House members had rallied to his call. Spurred by their victory over Clinch, they resoundingly trashed two other notorious pork barrels—water projects in Nebraska and North Dakota. It looked as if Clinch River had created what one Coughlin ally called a "domino

effect" among the pork barrels: as each member lost a pet project, he would become less likely to help his colleagues protect the boondoggles in their districts. The chain of interlocking favors would soon come apart.

But Washington doesn't work that way. Within a week, the breeder and both water projects had been restored to life. Opposed by allies as diverse as the Libertarians and Ralph Nader, Clinch River was rescued by three Capitol Hill forces—Rep. Tom Bevill (D-Ala.), Sen. Howard Baker (R-Tenn.) and the legislative clock.

Bevill is chairman of the House appropriations subcommittee on energy and water development. He holds sway over the funds for 75 percent of the Energy Department's programs and all federal dams, canals, reservoirs and harbors, a virtual warehouse of pork barrels. The energy-and-water bill that annually emerges from his subcommittee has been jocularly dubbed the "all-American bill" because, as one House member

says, "there's something in it for everyone."

In early 1982, however, government auditors had issued a devastating series of financial reports on the Clinch project. More than 40 editorials across the country had trounced the breeder as a "nuke loser" and a "technological black hole." Bevill, keen to the anti-pork sentiment rising in Congress, managed to delay the vote until December's lame-duck session, hoping that once members' seats were safe, they would tend to fear their powerful pro-Clinch colleagues more than they feared outraged constituents. But when the vote finally came near the end of the session, the reactor went down to defeat. As the legislative year drew to a close, Clinch River's fate fell into the hands of the Senate and the conference committee.

Senate Majority Leader Baker spent large amounts of

political capital to save the breeder, insisting that the Tennessee breeder was a much-needed energy project that had "nothing to do with pork." Although Frederick Bernthal, a key Baker aide, claimed the majority leader spent only "minimal time" defending Clinch River, Baker actually was forced to resort to serious arm twisting. The crunch came three days after the breeder's defeat in the House when Clinch lobbyists took a quick Senate count. It looked like they were going to lose.

Just before the dramatic roll-call vote ended at 4:30 a.m., Republican Senator Mark Hatfield of Oregon, a long-time Clinch foe, made a stunning announcement. He said he had agreed to join in a "live-pair" with Senator Barry Goldwater, off recuperating from coronary surgery. In other words, Hatfield was giving the absent Goldwater the opportunity to cancel out Hatfield's anti-Clinch vote. "Pairing" is common in the Senate, and aides to Hatfield and Goldwater said their bosses had agreed to live-pair because Howard Baker had asked them to do so. As a result, Clinch River squeaked through the Senate by one vote.

The conference committee then met to hammer out agreements on Clinch and a host of other issues. As usual, preliminary negotiations were handled by aides to the House and Senate appropriations subcommittee chairmen. This produced a curious result.

Bevill's aides were assigned to defend the House's vote to kill Clinch even though Bevill personally wanted the project. Aides to Appropriations Subcommittee Chairman Mark Hatfield were assigned to represent the Senate vote to save Clinch even though Hatfield personally opposed the breeder on nuclear weapons proliferation grounds. The language that finally emerged in the bill was essentially what Bevill had wanted all along—continued funding for the breeder through September 30 of this year.

Understandably horrified by this result, Coughlin demanded that the House conferees reject the "compromise." He was voted down 10 to seven. The Clinch River "compromise" called for a cost-sharing study to find ways to increase industry's investment in the project. In the early '70s, utility companies had pledged to shoulder half of Clinch River's costs. As cost overruns soared, industry's actual contribution had dwindled to 7 percent.

On March 15, the industry partners in Clinch came up with their own cost-sharing suggestion. If the government would guarantee the rate of return on their investment, the utilities would be more willing to kick in more money. This way the companies that had urged the government to build the power plant could insure that they were in a "no-lose" situation. It is now up to the House committee to decide whether the Department of Energy will again bail out Clinch.

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IN THESE TIMES

Is recovery just 'round the bend?

By Daniel Lazare

NEW YORK

THE POWER OF ECONOMIC growth to heal and transform should not be underestimated. It makes foolish policies suddenly seem wise and prescient, and bankrupt politicians seem statesmanlike. It can stave off strikes, hunger riots and revolution. In the long run (by permitting improved health care), it can even cause the lame to walk and the blind to see.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the economic recovery supposedly now radiating outward from the U.S. has political leaders from Chile to Hungary quivering in anticipation, like bird dogs after quail.

From October to January, the mood went from near panic over the threat of a second Great Depression, to sheer ebullience as the economic indicators shot up with surprising strength and it appeared that growth had at long last arrived. Since then, the signals have turned mixed and the outlook has grown more cautious and wary. Nonetheless, optimism still holds.

If the changes in mood are violent, it is because the stakes are so high. The recession that began in 1979 has turned out to be the most extensive and prolonged since the '30s. The dizzying economic plunge of 1974, a reaction to the first oil shock, was both steeper and deeper, but it was quickly followed by an equally steep recovery.

The current slide, while not as precipitous, has lasted far longer and has left few nations unscathed. It began slowly in the U.S. in 1979 but accelerated in early 1980. The U.S. economy snapped back in the second half of the year, and then leveled off through mid-1981.

Then, that August, as the Reagan economic program was slicing through Congress with remarkable ease and the air controllers' strike was being broken, the slide resumed and continued for more than a year. Total industrial production fell to the lowest point in five years. Iron and steel output was the lowest in decades. Domestic auto production dropped by two-thirds while housing starts fell by half. Unemployment entered the realm of the double digit.

Even more dramatic was the crisis in lending. The easy-money policies of 1974-75 resulted in an unprecedented lending spree in which the international banks, their coffers overflowing with hundreds of billions of petro-dollars, encouraged heavy borrowing by much of the Third World. The bubble burst in 1981-82 when oil prices weakened and the recession caused demand to fall for raw materials, agricultural commodities and the basic manufactured goods that are the stuff of Third World exports.

In August 1982, Mexico announced that it could no longer keep up with payments on its \$85-billion foreign debt. As frightened bankers immediately began to redline the rest of Latin America, Brazil (\$90 billion in foreign debt), Argentina (\$38 billion), Venezuela (\$29.5 billion) and Chile (\$17 billion) quickly found themselves in the ranks of troubled debtors.

It was the familiar financial boom-and-bust that the world has known repeatedly since the South Sea Bubble scandal of 1729, although this time on a vastly larger scale. Entire continents were involved, and more than half a trillion dollars. Bankers and ministers of finance labored mightily to keep the fragile edifice from crumbling to dust, but their efforts seemed doomed until the U.S. economy began exhibiting signs of life last fall.

How strong is the recovery? Very weak and tentative so far, with housing the only sector doing consistently well, despite the 9.2 percent drop last month. Construction of single-family homes has nearly doubled from the low of one year ago and is now within striking distance of the 1978 peak of two million new units a year. Housing is an unusually variegated industry, involving everything from lumber to aluminum and iron and major appliances, and the boom is given much of the credit for the 1.1 percent increase in industrial production recorded for March, the fourth consecutive monthly increase.

The rest of the economy, however, remains listless. Automobiles, another closely watched sector, rose strongly in late 1982, but have since leveled off at about six million cars manufactured domestically per year, far below the peak of 10-12 million a year of the mid-'70s. The economy's treatment of the auto industry has been especially cruel: the Big Three producers were caught short early in the recession because they had only large cars to offer when an energy-conscious market wanted small ones.

Now, after several years of frenzied downsizing, they are in trouble once again as the oil glut has unexpectedly spurred demand for larger automobiles. As a result, Detroit, twice burned and now thrice shy, is following the market extremely closely, refusing to step up production without clear and unambiguous signals from the showrooms that it is warranted.

As autos go, so goes steel. After climbing substantially all winter, steel orders slipped a startling 26 percent in March, largely due to lagging auto sales. Steel producers, who lost a collective \$3 billion last year, had been counting on sales to at least hold steady throughout 1983; now even that modest forecast appears overly optimistic.

Mining and oil and gas production, meanwhile, continue to plumb new depths as demand stagnates. The energy-rich Southwest, which in 1981 and 1982 attracted hordes of footloose job-seekers from industrial disaster areas like Michigan and Ohio, has turned energy-poor, with drilling rigs idled by the thousands. The furious protests of the environmentalist movement against off-shore drilling have almost become moot as drilling has slowed down dramatically. The "rough-necks" who worked the rigs are now suffering heavy unemployment. The new vagabonds from the Ohio Valley are reported gravitating to the Southeast, where jobs are said to be more plentiful.

Consumer: "Oh ye of little faith."

The "villain" in all this is the consumer who, despite heavy cheerleading from the White House, simply refuses to spend. The problem is that he or she is not immune to the general skittishness permeating the economy. One major fear is unemployment: in addition to the 10.3 percent of the civilian workforce that is unable to find work, a recent Gallup Poll found that another 10 percent fear that they may soon lose their job. Under such conditions, the only sensible thing to do is to reduce spending and increase savings until the wave of layoffs recedes.

The other major problem is stubbornly high interest rates, which serve to raise the prices of cars, homes and other major purchases. Rates have fallen substantially since mid-1982, but so has inflation, meaning that the real interest rate (nominal interest rate minus inflation) persists at a historic high.

The relationship between interest rates and inflation should be clear to anyone who bought a house in the late '70s. At

the time, the standard advice was not to worry about sky-high mortgage payments, since they would soon be offset by rocketing housing prices (which guaranteed a nifty profit upon resale) and regular cost-of-living salary increases. Unfortunately, housing prices leveled off or even fell, salary increases moderated, inflation dropped and mortgage payments remained uncomfortably high. (The consequence was the housing crash of 1979-82.) The story was much the same for automobiles, Third World indebtedness and so on.

Interest rates are the problem of the '80s, just as rising oil prices were the problem of the '70s. Both resulted from the same steady weakening of the dollar—a

commodities increased in price as usable resources become more valuable than paper money. Financial markets grew overheated, and there was a steady disinvestment of American industry as dollars were sent abroad in search of easier profits and lower wages. The stimulative effects of inflation, meanwhile, grew less and less as unemployment inched upward. The era of "stagflation" had arrived.

Unemployment and inflation are Federal Reserve Chairman Paul A. Volcker's Charybdis and Scylla: the problem is how to avoid the whirling currents of one without being dashed to pieces on the other. His decision to tighten credit in the face of the second oil shock of 1979-80



phenomenon that has been gathering steam since the '50s but that only received public recognition in the late '60s.

In 1971, President Nixon, faced with a vastly overvalued U.S. currency, removed the last moorings of the dollar to the gold standard and allowed it to float free. A flood of paper currency was released, inflation rose and oil and other

How strong is the upswing? Very weak and tentative so far. Housing is the only sector that has been doing consistently well, despite the 9.2 percent drop in March. The rest of the economy, however, remains listless.



was a historic attempt to break the inflationary cycle once and for all. But the effect was to throw the world economy into a reverse so violent as to nearly touch off a general collapse.

The dilemma is still with us. Last summer, the alarming deterioration in the world economy caused Volcker to back off and ease up on credit. The result has been the current, flacid "recovery," plus a few preliminary indications of renewed inflation.

Commodity prices, a sensitive bellweather of inflation, have been rising steadily. Oil prices stabilized after 12 exhausting days of negotiations in London last month, and most measures of the money supply indicate an excessive rate of expansion.

Meanwhile, interest rates have been stuck in place since last September, even though inflation has continued to fall. One reason, paradoxically, is the Fed's own loose money policies that, by arousing fears of another inflationary wave, encourage banks to charge more as a hedge against the day when they may be repaid with significantly cheaper dollars.

The international debt crisis, in addition, has generally forced banks to become more conservative in their lending practices. Finally, there are the ballooning federal deficits, which can be blamed on Reagan's irresponsible "supply-side" economic policies.

In retrospect, Reagan's efforts to stimulate business by slashing taxes and thereby loosing a flood of paper dollars seem like little more than a right-wing, Southern California rehash of Peronism. Juan Peron, while bankrupting Argentina, at least sought to enrich the working class. Reagan's intention, in contrast, was simply to make the rich still richer.

The federal deficit, which is expected to top \$200 billion this year (a third more than last year and more than three times the 1981 deficit), is undoubtedly a major factor propping up rates. Federal borrowing on the private credit markets accounted for an astounding 45 percent of all business loans in the first three months of 1983. Among economists, the phenomenon is known as "crowding out," which, by increasing the competition for loans, serves to keep interest rates high.

There appear to be no easy answers—or difficult ones, for that matter—for an

Continued on page 6

IN SHORT

From fringe to forefront

Connecting the growing peace movement to larger economic and political issues is the left's paramount challenge and opportunity, and if the success of the Jobs with Peace campaign is any indicator the movement is getting the message. In less than five years 78 cities have passed Jobs with Peace referenda, demanding that Congress "make more money available for jobs and programs... by significantly reducing the amount of tax dollars spent on... wasteful military programs." A similar resolution in Congress has more than 70 cosponsors.

During Jobs with Peace week April 10 to 17, 150 communities staged events to educate taxpayers, voters and government officials about the link between the Reagan administration's military buildup, unemployment and social service cutbacks. On Tax Day, April 15, demonstrators at post offices handed out postcards to be sent to congressional representatives protesting the more than 50 cents of every tax dollar that goes to military-related spending. Jobs with Peace budgets were distributed in New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey, West Virginia and cities including Milwaukee, New York, Pittsburgh, Atlanta, Denver and Baltimore. With the backing of major labor unions, including AFSCME and the Machinists, as well as 46 congressmembers and the Michigan state legislature and New York state assembly, Jobs with Peace week showed that its supporters are moving from the fringe of the peace movement to the forefront.

Banking on honor

When the farming community of Hazen, Ark. (pop 1,456), saw the doors of its only bank bolted shut by the Arkansas State Banking Commission, it must have looked like a scene from a remake of Frank Capra's *It's a Wonderful Life*. Dozens of sympathetic farmers gathered outside the bank in silent homage to its founder and owner, 84-year-old Jerry Screeton. Screeton, the townspeople maintain, watched his bank fail because he would not foreclose on the area's financially troubled farms. Arkansas banking commissioners will only say the bank's solvency was "threatened by unusual transactions unaccounted for in the bank's books," Penni Crabtree reports. Unofficially, that means the bank collapsed under a burden of unprocessed checks and delinquent loans.

Instead of returning bounced checks, Screeton apparently set them aside hoping the farmers would make good on them, even though federal banking regulations require a bank to assume financial responsibility for the checks after 24 hours. That practice, and Screeton's reluctance to foreclose on farmers who had fallen behind on loan payments, led to the bank's failure.

Screeton, whose health has deteriorated substantially since his bank closed, would not be interviewed at any length. "You can say," he said, "that we tried to do business in an honorable manner."

Sore losers

Federal officials said it was a "ploy to embarrass the U.S. Forest Service." They were expecting an outdoor conference on forest management at a national campground in Greys Falls, Calif., but what they got was an encampment protesting federal plans to spray herbicides on public lands in California. J.A. Savage reports that 300 opponents of herbicide spraying converged at the edge of the Trinity River April 16 and 17 to plan their opposition, claiming herbicides such as 2,4-D cause cancer and birth defects. The Forest Service and the timber industry insist 2,4-D most effectively kills off vegetation that slows the growth of commercially valuable trees. But a U.S. court of appeals decision just before the encampment backed the herbicide opponents, ruling that the federal government must comply with state guidelines on restricted herbicides even on federally managed lands.

Now 2,4-D opponents can lobby county agricultural commissioners (the state's representatives) instead of inflexible Forest Service officials. That's the New Federalism at work, but Reagan administration officials aren't applauding—the Forest Service and Justice Department are conferring over an appeal of the decision.

Mixed results in Oakland

Oakland's city council elections April 19 returned Mayor Lionel Wilson's backers to power, but it wasn't all bad news for the Oakland Progressive Political Alliance (OPPA), the left coalition that had backed three candidates in the race (ITT, April 13). Wilson Riles Jr., supported by OPPA but backed by a wider constituency of his own, got four times the votes of his nearest competitor. And Cassie Lopez, teacher and community organizer, garnered an encouraging 45 percent of the vote in her loss to Wilson-backed incumbent Marge Gibson. Mary Meredith, the third OPPA candidate, came in third in her council race.

Alan Snitow reports that OPPA was heartened by the returns, since this was the first election in which the group ran its own slate. Riles' strong showing puts him in a better position to run for mayor in 1985, but the results cut both ways—although Wilson wasn't running, his slate's victory strengthened his political standing as well.

—Joan Walsh



CND chair Joan Ruddock says Britain's peace movement faces a receptive public, but "immovable" politicians.

Opponent fears Cruise missile can't be stopped

SANTA BARBARA, CA—To listen to Joan Ruddock describe the recent fortunes of Britain's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) is to hear a string of successes: a growth in membership from 10,000 to 300,000 since 1979, 100,000 people at the widely publicized Easter demonstration, and last month the Labor Party's renewed commitment to unilateral disarmament.

Yet between the lines of the CND chair's message is an unexpected political pessimism. Despite the growing opposition,

Ruddock appears convinced that Cruise missiles will be deployed in Britain this December. "All of our actions sound very successful, but at the end of the day we are still faced with the British government, which is unmovable on this issue, which has very little regard for public opinion or democratic pressures," Ruddock said.

Predicting the re-election of Margaret Thatcher in this year's elections, tentatively scheduled for October, Ruddock says CND is working to ensure that a con-

servative victory "will not mean a mandate for deployment." By organizing ever-larger protests, gaining support in the churches and unions and campaigning for their policy positions in a door-to-door peace canvass, CND expects to broaden the movement. But Ruddock admits, "I don't know if enough people will join these kinds of actions to make it intolerable for the government to deploy the missiles."

CND's success to this point can be measured by polls showing 60 percent of the British public opposed to Cruise deployment, including a striking 39 percent of those who describe themselves as Conservatives. A quarter of the electorate reportedly favors unilateral disarmament, Ruddock said. The group's most prominent political success may be the Labor Party's platform, which parallels CND's program except for withdrawing from NATO.

But CND will not be campaigning for Labor candidates, even though the groups' positions are similar. That strategy is due to questions about Labor's electability, as well as a distrust of party politics—there's no guarantee, Ruddock notes, that a Labor government would carry out its disarmament program. "Not all of the party is committed to unilateralism and we can be sure that great pressure would be put on by NATO and the U.S."

Instead, CND's peace canvass will identify voters whose primary concern is disarmament, remaining independent of party politics the way the U.S. nuclear freeze movement has resisted formal affiliation with the Democrats. "The peace movement is not handing votes to any party—we hope that the parties will campaign for the peace vote," Ruddock said.

Early this month Ruddock visited the U.S. with 14 other international disarmament leaders as part of a speaking tour sponsored by the Youth Section of the Democratic Socialists of America.

—John Raymond

Dreier fights for tenure

BOSTON—Tufts University Sociology professor Peter Dreier may be as well known outside the academic community as within it, for his political writing and organizing on a wide range of urban issues. But despite—or perhaps because of—his synthesis of scholarship and advocacy, Dreier has been denied tenure. Unless Tufts' President Jean Mayer bows to student and faculty pressure, Dreier's sixth year at the university will be his last.

In late 1981, tenured members of the sociology department split down the middle on the question of awarding Dreier tenure. (The two junior members supported him, but their votes are not counted.) The university-wide Tenure and Promotions Committee subsequently recommended tenure by a 4-0 vote, with two abstentions. Mayer nevertheless decided last year to let Dreier go, effective this May.

Dreier's support is widespread at Tufts. Faculty members met

with Mayer in September to argue Dreier's case. Students brought the issue into the open, publishing a lengthy article in the school newspaper in March. Meanwhile, letters of support for Dreier poured into Mayer's office—from Governor Michael Dukakis, two U.S. Congressmembers, a host of state politicians and prominent sociologists across the country.

Insiders offer varied explanations for the department's split. Tufts' by-laws specify various criteria for deciding tenure, including teaching, scholarship (publication) and "contribution to department objectives"—loosely known as "collegiality." Dreier's marks were clearly high on the first two. Regarded as one of the most popular instructors on campus, his student evaluations were apparently very enthusiastic.

As for scholarship—which almost always figures as a more important criterion for tenure—he again is highly regarded. Dreier has written for publications—the *New York Times*, *The Nation*, *In These Times*—as well as scholarly journals. Dreier is "on his way to being the leading urban

sociologist in America," said Boston University's S.M. Miller.

"Collegiality," a catch-all consideration, apparently caught Dreier. His style irritated some of his more senior colleagues, according to one department member. He "wasn't paying enough attention to norms and etiquette," said another.

No one, including Dreier himself, believes that he lost out simply by virtue of being a socialist; Tufts has several tenured leftists. But most departments make room for only two scholarly styles; empirical research and pure theory. A policy-oriented, advocacy-based application of social science is seen as less legitimate. "It's becoming more respectable now to be a neo-Marxist scholar," Dreier explained, "as long as it doesn't translate into real politics."

Dreier, understandably bitter about what has happened, describes the current process as "arbitrary and capricious," offering no security to junior faculty "even when you jump through all the right hoops, meet all the qualifications and then some."

—Alfie Kohn

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

By Diana Johnstone

ALBUFEIRA, PORTUGAL

THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL's 16th congress closed here on April 10 with the most urgent and unmanageable item on its agenda transformed into a corpse at its doorstep. Willy Brandt's club of socialist leaders waited too long to make up its mind between trying to help solve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and hoping it would go away.

Merely to have his presence at the congress fully recognized, Dr. Issam Sartawi had to die. The leading Palestinian peace-maker was gunned down in the lobby of the Montechoro resort hotel, at the threshold of a door that was neither open nor shut.

The body was still lying in a pool of bright blood on the dull red tiling of the hotel lobby when outgoing SI Secretary General Bernt Carlsson rose to read from the rostrum the letter Sartawi had addressed the day before to SI Chairman Willy Brandt. "It is indeed an historic occasion of particular importance and significance that the PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization] was invited to the SI Congress as an observer and that it has accepted," the American-educated heart surgeon, born 48 years ago in what is now the Israeli-occupied West Bank, wrote in his last message.

Sartawi's message was in the form of a letter to Brandt because he was not allowed to address the congress. Throughout the months leading up to this congress, the SI remained deadlocked on the issue. Especially after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon last June, many member parties thought it necessary to oppose Israeli expansionism and encourage peace forces on both sides by recognizing PLO leaders striving for mutual recognition. Others were more worried about Israeli Labor Party leader Shimon Peres' threats to walk out if the SI recognized the PLO.

Finally, Sartawi was invited—and then ignored as much as possible. He had attended the 1980 Madrid congress as a journalist. But this time he had an observer's badge, without the name of his organization. "I'm Mr. PLO at this congress," he went around saying.

The invitation to send a representative was issued orally to Yasir Arafat in Tunis on February 4 by Portuguese socialist leader Mario Soares and later confirmed in writing. Yet afterward, some members of the Soares delegation could remember the invitation and others could not.

"Everyone comments on the PLO being invited, but not on its accepting," Sartawi stressed as the congress opened. "That also is significant. It means the PLO is following a certain policy."

Sartawi wrote to Brandt that the SI was particularly qualified to play a constructive role if it could show even-handedness, courage and clear vision. "Recognizing one side to the conflict alone, or surrendering to one-sided pressure to exclude the other party is counter-productive," he wrote.

Sartawi then asked the SI to exert pressure to bring about PLO participation in the search for peace. His letter reiterated the message he spelled out in detail during his June 13, 1982, lecture at the French International Relations Institute in Paris (see *In These Times*, July 28): in recent years the PLO has passed a "series of historically important resolutions" implicitly recognizing the state of Israel, and these steps deserve some counterpart from the other side leading to mutual recognition, as a basis for dialog and an eventual peace settlement.

Sartawi's letter praised Israelis—including members of Uri Avnery's Sheli Party—who had responded to PLO overtures for dialog with progressive and democratic forces in Israel. In an allusion to the Israeli Labor Party headed by Shimon Peres, Sartawi added that it was "unfortunate that other Israeli forces which define themselves as progressive and democratic, and participate under these labels in international progressive and democratic bodies, have refused so

far to participate in this peaceful dialog."

A dead Palestinian is a good Palestinian. Once dead, Sartawi quickly became famous as the best Palestinian there ever was. Peres praised his courage, and publicly noticed, for the first time, that Sartawi personified "moderation."

Unless death improves a man, all the good things said about Sartawi had been even more true of him when he was alive. The question laying over the congress like a pall was what all these admirers had done to help Sartawi while he was still alive. They certainly had done nothing to protect him from the danger everyone knew was stalking him. Mario Soares and others who wanted to please all sides by both inviting the PLO and not inviting the PLO perhaps did not want to call even their own attention to the problem of Sartawi's safety. Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky warned of secret reports of a plot to kill Sartawi in Portugal, but the swarms of security guards wandering aimlessly around the Montechoro had no instructions to protect Sartawi. In a normally busy hotel lobby, his killer was able to fire three bullets in Sartawi's head, then walk out the front door past security men lounging on both sides of the glass front and run off down the street.

Sartawi had no private bodyguard. Lionel Jospin pointed out that it was part of Sartawi's philosophy of life "to feel free." His courage, which Uri Avnery called "legendary," was also politically necessary. Had he been wedged into a solid phalanx of personal bodyguards like Sandinista leader Bayardo Arce Castano, he could not have mingled as he did with congress delegates. Part of his task

was to represent, in his own personality, the humanity, or the normality, of a people shoved onto the margins of the world and branded as terrorists.

After Israel occupied his West Bank homeland in 1967, Sartawi gave up his successful medical career in the U.S. to found his own group dedicated to liberating Palestine by armed struggle. After the Palestinian national liberation movement was driven out of Jordan in the "black September" of 1970, Sartawi became convinced that armed struggle was getting nowhere and the way to save Palestinian national rights was through negotiations and reconciliation.

But he used to say that his experience as a military commander had been necessary preparation for his role as "peace fighter." It gave him credibility both with Palestinians and with his new Israeli friends Uri Avnery and Matti Peled, old soldiers from the other side who also had the courage to convert to the struggle for peace. Sartawi understood two worlds that rarely understood each other. The Israeli peace movement trusted him. Uri Avnery called his assassination an irreparable blow to the cause of peace and dialog.

Sartawi was left without physical, but also without political protection. With no clear success to show for his years of effort, he was left in an exposed position where his elimination could sever a key

That evening it kept occurring to me that his assassins might strike at any moment. I was a bit ashamed of these thoughts, but they were probably standard. If he spent that evening with me, and not with someone more important, useful to his cause, it might be because all his socialist friends and admirers were not exactly clustering around him in support.

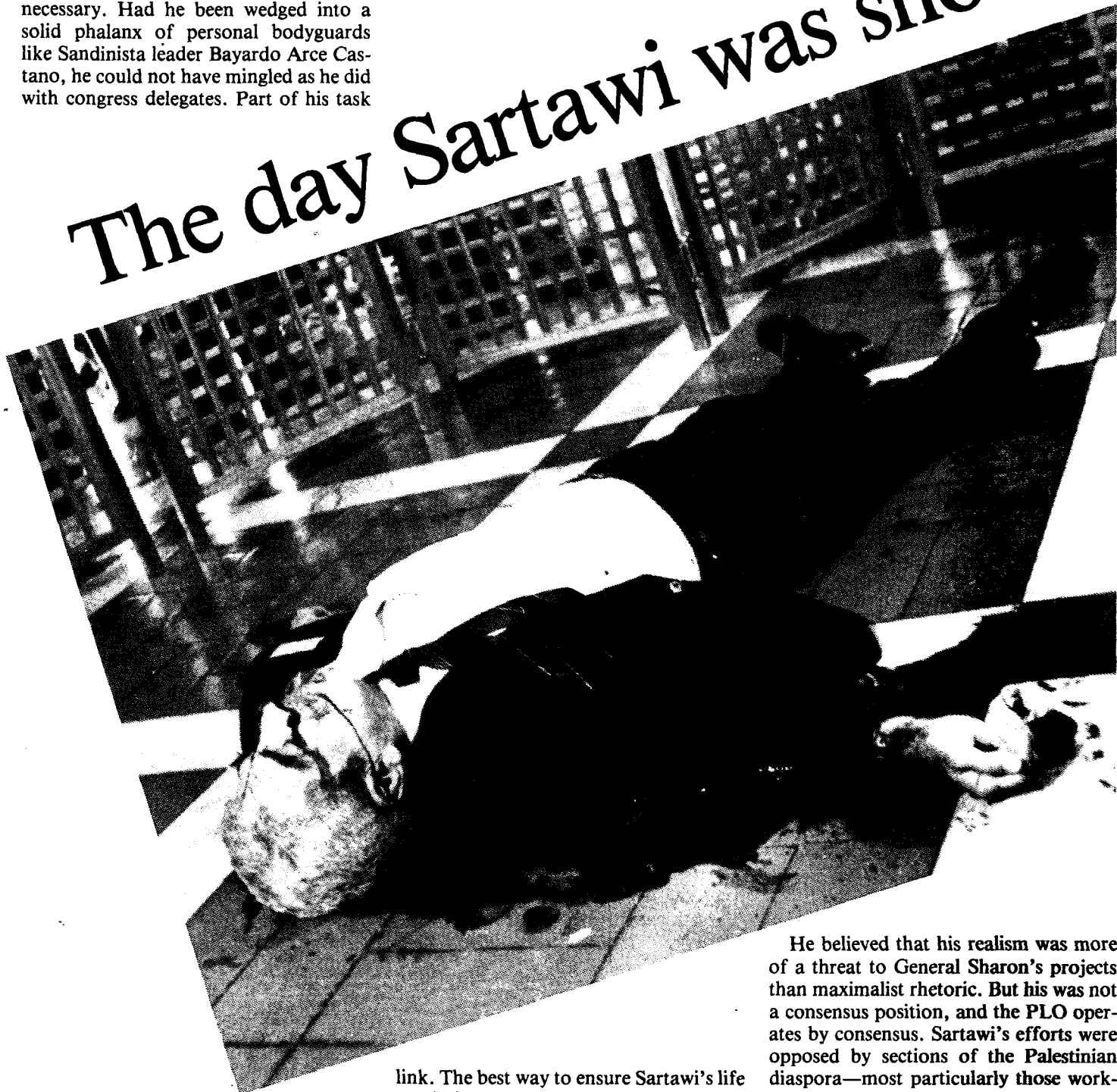
At the Algiers meeting of the Palestinian National Council last February, he was kept from speaking on procedural grounds. He resigned in protest. His resignation was turned down by Arafat, but his status remained ambiguous—just like his invitation to the SI congress.

"I wanted to insist that the invitation be addressed to the PLO, not to me," he told me. "I pointed out that I might be killed, or thrown out of the PLO or resign. And you see, I was right to foresee this problem."

Sartawi was harsh on the "dangerous rhetoric" with which many PLO leaders soothe over defeats and, in his opinion, get farther and farther from reality. The Western press widely quoted his response to claims that the battle of Beirut was a PLO victory: "A few more victories like that and we'll be meeting in the Fiji Islands."

The PLO moderate, gunned down in a hotel lobby.

The day Sartawi was shot



Once dead, Sartawi quickly became famous as the best Palestinian ever.

link. The best way to ensure Sartawi's life would have been to reward his approach so that, even if he died there would be many other Palestinians carrying on his efforts. "More people will risk doing what I do if my approach pays off," he often said. The opposite was also true.

"I dragged the PLO kicking and screaming, like a little child, to the Socialist International," he told me a couple of evenings before his assassination. Along with his young assistant Anwar Abu Eisheh, we went to dinner at the popular A Ruina restaurant in Albufeira. He ordered the biggest fish in the house for us to share. "If we are going to die, we might as well die of eating fish," he said cheerfully.

He believed that his realism was more of a threat to General Sharon's projects than maximalist rhetoric. But his was not a consensus position, and the PLO operates by consensus. Sartawi's efforts were opposed by sections of the Palestinian diaspora—most particularly those working with, or for, Arab States that do not want to see a rival Palestinian state emerge in their region.

Sartawi tried in vain to get the PLO to make its implicit recognition of Israel explicit, in order to be able to talk to the U.S. "Europe and America are calling on Arafat to make courageous decisions," Sartawi said recently, "but Arafat has to deal with a highly diversified Palestinian national movement, and from the other side no one has ever made a gesture to help him. I have appealed over and over again to Israel to be more receptive and flexible. What have we got? Only total refusal to discuss, to negotiate, to seek

Continued on the following page

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any kind of compromise?

Sartawi was not a radical, not a socialist, but a liberal in the American sense who saw the SI as the main international forum for Western liberal values. He hoped to promote Israeli-Palestinian dialog through the mediation of the European socialist parties. Specifically, he hoped the SI parties would be able to bring the Israeli Labor Party around to a willingness to talk to moderate Palestinian leaders like himself. These efforts had to be on behalf of the PLO as a whole, if only to counter the inevitable suspicions and accusations leveled against peacemakers in such situations—that they are renegades seeking to sell out their comrades and make a deal with the enemy out of personal ambition or in the service of Western intelligence agencies.

Kreisky was in the forefront of SI leaders who heeded Sartawi's plea that the way to wean the PLO away from terrorism was to reward another approach. But Peres stubbornly refused dialog with the "representative of a terrorist organization."

Spanish Premier Felipe Gonzalez had come from Madrid at the end of the congress for what was to have been a triumphant climax of advancing socialism in the Iberian peninsula, calculated to give a boost to Mario Soares in the forthcoming Portuguese elections. The murder changed all that. The European reformers' gropings for ways to deal with increasingly baffling economic and social problems were abruptly splattered with blood from the nearest, longest and most dangerous (to the rest of the world) of all the many regional conflicts that sometimes seem to be moving toward a crescendo of planetary catastrophe. Gonzalez said this was proof that "regional conflicts can no longer be limited to their regions."

"Time is running out," he said. "There is not much time left to bring peace to Lebanon, to Central America.... We must stop thinking in terms of years and think in terms of months."

Spain's leading daily *El Pais* commented that the Sartawi assassination cast over the congress the huge doubt that the

SI represents anything that is possible. "The general idea of the International is to achieve a lessening of the class struggle which is going on today on a planetary scale and convert it into a general reform, in a universal democracy where inequalities will be smaller and confrontations can be mediated by permeable systems and not by classes, races, peoples or castes."

In his letter to Brandt, Sartawi praised him for leading the SI out of its "previous Eurocentric confines, to the broad expanses of internationalism, Third World involvement and North-South pre-occupation.... The persecuted and underprivileged peoples of Africa, Central and South America and even Asia, turned to the SI for help, and found in it refuge and succor." Only one people, the Palestinians, were forgotten, he added, suggesting that it might be "the manifest historical destiny of my people to suffer alone so that their tragic suffering might redeem the world and change it for the better."

"Dr. Sartawi," said Willy Brandt, "had put great, perhaps too great expectations in our association. His death gives us a duty to redouble our efforts...."

In the stunned mood of the final session, the SI accepted without the anticipated objections to include Lebanese Progressive Socialist Party leader Walid Jumblatt, who the day before had asked whether "racism" was behind the Northern European parties' refusal to sign a petition to let Sartawi address the congress, among its vice-presidents. Urged on eloquently by Ed Broadbent of the Canadian New Democratic Party and Felipe Gonzalez, the congress passed an emergency resolution expressing alarm at invasions of Nicaragua by mercenaries from Honduras and demanding an immediate end to direct or indirect intervention by the U.S. The unusually bold criticism of the U.S. was meant to support American congressional opposition to the Reagan administration's Central American war projects.

The assassination of Sartawi was claimed by the notorious Abu Nidal group, which broke away from the PLO 10 years ago and has since murdered a dozen prominent PLO moderates. Abu

Nidal is strangely sheltered by Iraq, and sometimes by Syria, whose leaders, however much they hate each other, share an evident wish to prevent any independent Palestinian leadership from having a say in the region's future.

In addition to developing contacts with the Israeli left and European socialists, Sartawi had been given the delicate mission of negotiating the return of Palestinian prisoners held by Israel since the invasion of Lebanon. His assassination was immediately cited by Israeli representatives as proof that there is no use trying to deal with Palestinian moderates. The day Sartawi was killed, Reagan's Mideast peace plan collapsed. There seemed little to deter Prime Minister Begin from pressing on to build an ever-expanding Israel on the deepening despair and confusion of the Arab world.

(More about the SI congress next week.)

Recovery

Continued from page 3

economy gripped by a growing social crisis caused by double-digit unemployment, that is still threatened by inflation, that is increasingly insensitive to monetary stimulation, that is living under the shadow of a Third World debt avalanche.

William E. Simon, the conservative former secretary of the treasury, recently summed up the absurdity of it all rather neatly (if one-sidedly) in the *Wall Street Journal*. Commenting on the Reagan administration's plans to appropriate \$8.4 billion more for the International Monetary Fund so that it can stave off financial collapse in the Third World, he said: "We are witnessing the tragic spectacle of the deficit-ridden rescuing the bankrupt with an outpouring of more American red ink...."

Luckily for Simon and his wealthy neighbors in the fox-hunting country of rural New Jersey, the world is not a rational place. Otherwise, the economy would have laid down and died years ago. Instead, it keeps sputtering on, its range of options growing increasingly narrow,

its performance increasingly feeble. As Patricia Linton, a left-wing economist at the New School for Social Research, observed recently, the choice facing the international economy appears to be either the big bang of a massive Third World default or the slow fizzle of renewed stagflation.

Tragedy in the Third World.

By last count, some 25 nations, either in the Third World or the Eastern bloc, were in arrears on their debt payments. It is an unprecedented problem and sure to grow worse without at least moderate economic growth in the industrialized world. For most of these nations it is as if 1929 had already arrived.

All have been forced to devalue currencies (thereby reducing on imports), slash public spending and allow unemployment to rise. Joblessness in Mexico is said to exceed 40 percent, nearly twice the American rate during the Great Depression. Food riots recently erupted in Brazil. Nigeria, once the most booming economy in black Africa, has been caught short by collapsing oil prices and is now nearly insolvent, its industry at a standstill and its oil earnings slashed.

Heavy borrowing resulted in impressive growth rates for much of the Third World in the '70s, but the era of relative largesse appears at an end. Rimmer de Vries, senior vice-president of Morgan Guaranty Trust, recently warned a Senate subcommittee that "even after current debt problems are resolved," the Third World "should not count on the same rapid pace of bank lending as in the recent past. Fewer banks are likely to participate in new LDC [less developed country] lending in the future. Those that continue will do so at a slower pace after their recent credit experience."

De Vries ignores the responsibility of the international banks in encouraging the impoverished Third World to overborrow and "live beyond its means." And in warning of many years of belt-tightening to come, the head of one of the world's richest banks seems unaware of the social explosion that could ensue. That kind of shortsightedness and political obtuseness is part of the reason that the banks got into such trouble in the first place.

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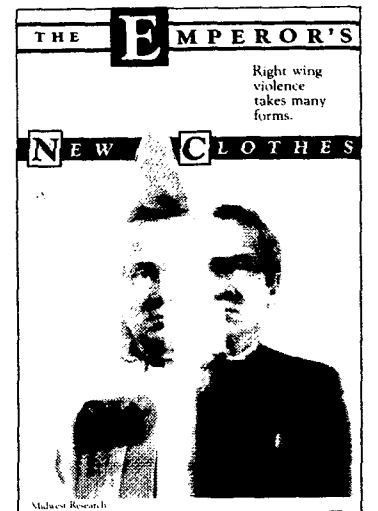


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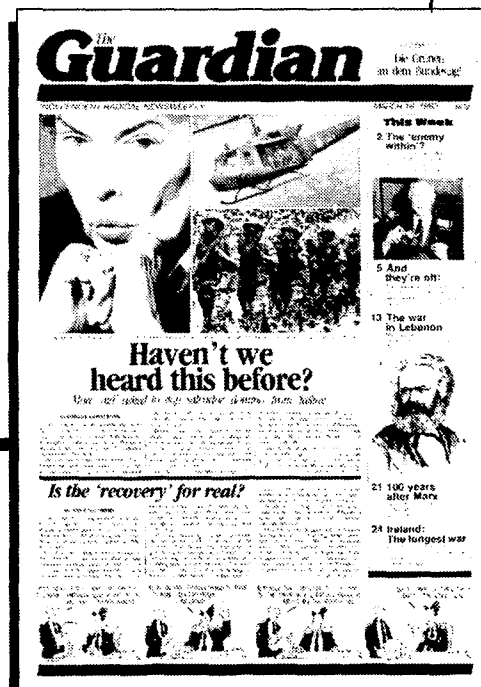
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By Claudia Wright

WASHINGTON

THE NOMINATION OF KENNETH Adelman to be the director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) won Senate endorsement on April 14, but Richard Perle, the assistant secretary of defense for international security policy—the man whose machinations for a purge of the arms agency led to Adelman's appointments—may not have long to savor his victory.

After a falling-out with some of his Pentagon allies, several "Deep Throats" are at work, encouraging the media to expose Perle. He is the first senior U.S. official ever to receive payments—at least \$140,000—to represent an Israeli weapons company and to use his influence on U.S. contracts for Israeli arms.

Perle is also involved in the case of his deputy, Stephen Bryen, who faces investigation for alleged espionage on behalf of Israel's Defense Ministry. In Bryen's case, Perle disregarded the evidence that had been gathered during an FBI-Justice Department inquiry and may have been involved in decisions to protect Bryen and prevent the evidence against him from being disclosed.

Thus Perle faces allegations of several violations of federal law—conflict of interest, failure to register as a foreign agent and conspiracy to obstruct justice in the Bryen case. These allegations stem from only two of several cases that have begun to surface in Washington. Others involve Perle's role in controlling U.S. high-technology exports, handling the Siberian gas pipeline dispute with Western Europe and determining U.S. policy for the provision of aircraft and military bases in Turkey.

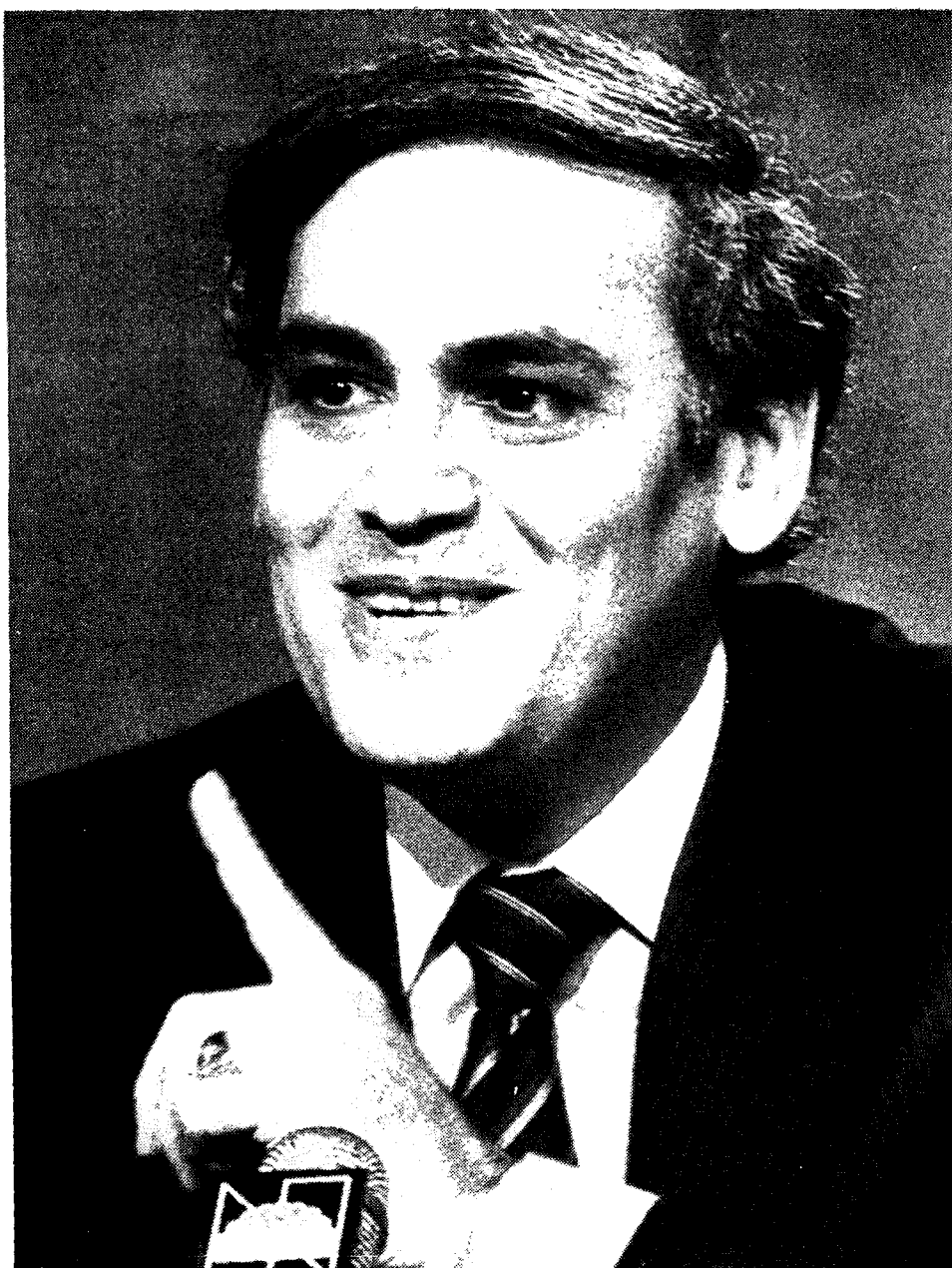
In each case, a similar pattern emerges. Perle, his wife, his friends, their wives, his legal advisors and business partners have all provided each other with lucrative employment and consulting contracts inside and outside the government. The group publishes each other's military and foreign policy assessments, which in turn recommend policy decisions and congressional appropriations that benefit the group's clients and enrich group members. Perle and his friends are based in key Senate staff positions, in bureaus of the Defense Department, State Department, Treasury, Commerce and the White House.

In a long Washington career, the 41-year-old Perle has built the kind of personal network ambitious government officials must have. He landed his first government job in 1969 after university study in political science and consulting jobs with defense firms. He was a consultant to Paul Nitze, then special assistant to the defense secretary.

Perle then joined the Senate staff, changing duties and committee memberships three times before becoming the principal staff member of the subcommittee on arms control of the Armed Services Committee. The chairman of the subcommittee was Henry Jackson (D-Wash.). Perle was Jackson's protegee; the Armed Services Committee was his power base and the recruiting ground for many of his current friends and allies in the Reagan administration. It was also the source of much classified information of interest to defense contractors, Israeli officials and entrepreneurs, and others who proved willing, between the time Perle left his Senate post in March 1980 and joined the Defense Department 12 months later, to pay him well for what he knew or how he could influence Defense Department contracts.

In the Senate, Perle worked closely with Howard J. Feldman, an ex-Army lawyer who was chief counsel for the Senate subcommittee on permanent investigations for part of the time Perle was there. Feldman went into private legal practice in 1977, and became Perle's partner in a number of real estate investments now worth more than \$200,000. Both men are friends of Edward Luttwak, an Israeli who specializes in defense consulting in Washington.

Luttwak has admitted to having close



PENTAGON

Perle under fire for defense deals

connections with Israeli intelligence and Israel's Defense Ministry; he is also an expert on Greek-Turkish politics. During Perle's tenure, Luttwak has been a consultant to the Defense Department and has publicly argued the case for closer military collaboration between Israel and the U.S., and the U.S. and Turkey.

When government officials take office, they are required to file a detailed statement of their income, former employment and assets—to certify that in their official duties there will be "no actual or potential conflict of interest." Perle has filed several statements, the most recent dated February 1. It was formally approved by the undersecretary of defense for policy, Fred Ikle. These documents reveal that in 1980 Perle received substantial consulting payments from Abington Corporation, TRW, Northrop, System Development Corporation and Tamares Ltd.

Abington is a Washington defense consulting operation originally owned and run by John Lehman, secretary of the Navy. His brother Christopher, formerly an aide to Senator John Warner, a Republican member of the Armed Services Committee, is now in charge of a strategic forces office at the State Department. Another Lehman brother, Joseph, is in the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and a fourth brother, Ronald, works for Perle as deputy assistant secretary of defense for strategic forces policy. The Lehman firm was Perle's employer for most of 1980, and through the connection Perle earned \$140,000.

Washington sources claim that in late 1980 Perle and John Lehman had a falling-out over their consulting business, and Perle moved to arrange independent contracts with companies that had been clients of Abington's. One of these firms is listed in Perle's disclosure forms as Tamares Ltd. As Jeff Gerth of the *New York Times* has reported, Tamares is a subsidiary for a Liechtenstein Company. Both are fronts for Soltam Ltd., an Israel-

li arms builder. Owned by the Zabłudowicz family and the Histadrut (the Israeli labor federation), Soltam builds gunnery systems for the "merkava" tank, several types of artillery and self-propelled howitzers, mortars and other arms and ammunition. Soltam's business is dependent on U.S. defense support in several ways—the company obtains advanced U.S. military technology and then resells it as Israeli-made weapons.

Soltam not only has depended on U.S. technology for its production line, but has increasingly looked to the U.S. market and military procurement contracts, for sales in the international arms market. Tamares was the channel through which Perle was paid to influence Pentagon decisions on Soltam's products. In particular, Pentagon sources have told journalists that Perle and his friends on the Senate Armed Services Committee collaborated to push Soltam's 81-MM mortar, encouraging the U.S. Army to re-evaluate an existing commitment to buy a competing British-made weapon.

The records show that Perle received about \$90,000 in payments from Tamares until November 1980. From then until March 1981, a period when Perle was also at work on the Reagan transition team for the Defense Department, the Israeli firm handed over another \$50,000. Daniel Spiegel, the Washington attorney for Soltam, told *In These Times* he had no comment on what this payment was for. Perle told the press he had been assessing the market for the 81-MM mortar.

Soltam was not the only arms company in the market for Perle. TRW paid him \$5,000 for "analysis and recommendations concerning strategic and tactical requirements and other national defense areas." The date of the contract in mid-1981 overlaps Perle's work at the Pentagon, but he claims the money and paperwork were actually for work done before he took office. Perle says he was advising TRW on an energy project in Italy.

Energy and, in particular, oil are a ma-

Richard Perle, assistant secretary of defense for international security policy, faces allegations of conflict of interest.

For policy concern in Perle's official Pentagon responsibilities. His wife, Leslie Barr, who was appointed to a Commerce Department job in October 1981, has also played an influential role in Reagan administration oil policy. In late 1981 and early 1982, both were involved in developing the administration's plan to force U.S. oil companies to stop operations in Libya, imposing an embargo on U.S. purchase of Libyan oil and Libyan purchase of U.S. oilfield equipment or other high-technology products. According to a Commerce Department source, Barr directed a study in early 1982 that found Libyan oil imports were a risk to U.S. national security interests. The study contradicted the assessment of the General Accounting Office, but the Libyan oil embargo was imposed nonetheless.

Barr and several associates and friends—at the Treasury, State Department and Perle's domain at the Defense Department—closely monitor international commodity stocks and trade, and play leading roles in licensing decisions for foreign products to enter the U.S. and for U.S. exports to go abroad. Friends outside the government, like Feldman, are investors in companies that trade in these commodities. Feldman has also been a registered lobbyist for a number of domestic oil companies, pipeline operators, utilities and alternative energy producers. Perle himself lists an investment in an oil drilling partnership.

Perle and his staff played "the lead role," according to a Pentagon source, in opposing the Soviet-West European gas pipeline, in blocking State Department moves to compromise with the Europeans and in pushing U.S.-produced alternative energy supplies to take the place of the Siberian gas.

The Soltam and TRW contracts, artillery and energy, were not the only ones Perle signed for in the weeks preceding his appointment at the Pentagon. According to officials of Northrop, the military aircraft manufacturer, on Feb. 10, 1981, Perle signed a contract with the company for just 18 days work. In that time, according to Northrop, Perle was "to have meetings with foreign policy analysts and then to discuss with us how our technical presentations might be constructed." Among the topics discussed was the aircraft Northrop has spent several hundred million dollars developing, without finding as yet a single buyer—the F-20 Tigershark. A company official said that Perle was paid "under \$10,000" for his efforts.

As assistant secretary of defense, Perle has been responsible for the Pentagon's negotiations with Turkey. These have dealt with the American request for bases in Eastern Turkey from which to command and operate elements of the Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force. In return, Turkey has demanded substantial increases in its military and economic aid from the U.S., grants and private investment instead of loans and an advanced new aircraft for the Turkish Air Force.

Northrop has tried to sell the Tiger-shark to both the Pentagon and the Turks. Initially, the Pentagon agreed to buy the first four prototypes of the aircraft, enabling Northrop to recover much of its early development cost. But Congress, terming this a political payoff to Northrop, refused to appropriate the money. At a March 10 Senate hearing, however, Perle promoted both the administration's request for both \$930 million of military aid for Turkey—doubling the 1980 figure—and Northrop's Tiger-shark aircraft.

In a government that has almost elevated self-aggrandizement to a principle of national economic policy, the possibility of conflict of interest in Perle's dealings is unlikely to produce more than a mild stir. But much more serious—because it touches the Pentagon's patriotic nerve—is the still-pending investigation of Perle's deputy, Stephen Bryen, of espionage for Israel, and the role Perle and his associates may have played in suppressing the case.

Next week: It's all in the family.

Since the women's movement began, the barriers between feminists and poor women have been formidable. But Reaganomics is making poverty a women's issue and new coalitions are emerging.

LOUDIE

Their
Voices
Will
Grow

By Rochelle Lefkowitz

THE NEW YORK CITY OFFICE OF the National Organization for Women (NOW) is on Fifth Avenue. But not the Fifth Avenue near Saks. Just off 14th Street—or La Catorce to its largely Latin clientele—it's around the block from a bustling open marketplace, where animated women, kids and shopping bags in tow, sift through tables of discount clothing and housewares. Last spring, on La Catorce, if you heard "ERA—check it out," chances are it was a pitch for the laundry detergent, not the equal rights amendment.

The ninth floor NOW office is often as busy as the street below. Bulletin boards overflow with flyers for evening rap groups for women managers, brown-bag lunches on job re-entry and buses to a pro-choice lobbying day. The welcome mat is worn. It does not, of course, say: "Welcome, White Middle Class Women Only." But, for the most part, that's who's inside—wondering why more poor women aren't.

NOW, of course, is just one wing of the women's movement—a movement that in the past decade has advanced women's economic and legal status as well as their physical and mental well-being. But NOW's dilemma is not unique. While some "progressives" shy away from public self-criticism these days, women active in centers, shelters,

clinics, commissions and support groups interviewed for *In These Times* candidly acknowledged that nearly every group in the women's movement, from reform-minded feminists to those committed to a broader struggle for women's liberation, has periodic, painful debates on why they are not attracting more poor women.

Yet, like the teacher or minister who asks those present to account for the absentees, the discussion rarely breaks new ground—perhaps because the wrong people are being asked the wrong questions.

An exclusive sorority.

Almost from the start, critics have accused the women's movement of being an exclusive sorority. The charge is tough to shake—not even large groups with sophisticated records, like NOW or NARAL (the National Abortion Rights Action League), track their members' incomes. Thus there are no numbers to prove who is—or isn't—a card-carrying feminist, let alone how many poor women are among those active in women's liberation or waging personal battles against sexism by training to be plumbers or buying their daughters toy trucks.

However, evidence other than numbers is revealing. If many concerned feminists wish they were reaching more poor women, some poor women outside the women's movement see the problem differently.

Elizabeth Fernandez, a health planner and community activist works in East

Harlem. A self-described "feminist from childhood," Fernandez finds that too many women she works with see feminists as "a new order of social workers who want to go and save them from their lot."

Fernandez believes many women she works with have kept their distance from feminist groups because of a daily battle for survival. But she also observes some discomfort with what are seen from afar as the movement's issues and attitudes. She says, "They feel the women's movement put down people with kids. Then, there wasn't enough emphasis on economic issues. Poor women want to know, 'Can you pay my bills? Get my kids shoes?'"

"Sometimes," she adds, "even when the issues are right, the approach has been a closed, often patronizing one."

Consider Medicaid abortions. Most feminists have been outspoken advocates for continued Medicaid funding of abortions for poor women. As one top NARAL staffer observes, "There's always a way if you have money. But if abortions were to become illegal again, poor women would have the most difficult time."

Yet Theresa Funicello, past director of DWAC, New York City's Downtown Welfare Action Center and a former AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) mother, finds this support less than consistent with NARAL's emphasis on "choice." Says Funicello, "The women's movement has chosen the issues for poor women—abortion rights, not

grant increases. In 1981, in New York State, even the right-to-life folks supported the grant increase before NOW did 'Our piece for poor women,' NOW said 'is abortion rights.' Not to put down abortion rights, but what about the abil-



ity to feed the kids we've got?"

Adds Janet Diamond, publicity director for the Massachusetts Coalition for Basic Human Needs, the state's three-year-old welfare rights group, "It's patriarchal and condescending to poor women to pick an issue [like Medicaid abortions] and decide to work on it. You don't choose my issues. I can do that myself. It's the difference between saying we'll do it for you—or with you."

Deep roots.

This estrangement has roots as deep as sisterhood's primal scream. For many women of middle class backgrounds, the current wave of feminism followed years of licking stamps for everyone else's causes. Consciousness raising freed them to act on their own behalf.

Some feminists see this as healthy—a point. "The whole women's movement emphasized starting with our own problems," points out Tish Sommers, founder of the Older Women's League (OWL), a national grassroots women's group that works to link groups concerned with women and with the aging. "Before then women had been working on everything else. Because of this, there is less consciousness among some feminists that there should be of poor women's problems."

Jan Peterson, executive director of National Congress of Neighborhood Women (NCNW)—a Brooklyn-based nationally mixed grassroots group of working women—adds, "Most early feminists had to separate themselves from their families and their communities to get consciousness. They had to leave at least mentally. We had to separate, to have a women's voice at all. But now, to come women can't choose to leave."

Women and children first

As Reaganomics batters American women, a new economic analysis is emerging: "the feminization of poverty."

Coining the phrase in 1978, sociologist Diana Pearce used it in *The Urban & Social Change Review*, to name what anyone who spent time in welfare offices already knew—most of the poor in the U.S. are women and their children.

What Pearce found so disturbing was that despite some of feminism's significant gains—affirmative action and the increased employment of women, especially better-educated ones—women's economic status had

declined over the past several decades, to the point where a good three years before Reaganomics she could say, "Today, almost half of all poor families are female-headed."

"Poverty," said Pearce, "is rapidly becoming a female problem." As evidence, she noted the steady decline in the ratio of the median incomes of female-to-male-headed families, from 56 percent in 1950 to 47 percent in 1974.

Three years after Pearce's article, the National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity issued a report with what has since become the feminization of poverty's "catch-concept." According to the report, by the year 2000, if present trends continue, female heads of households and their children are expected to account for all of the poor in the U.S.

These alarming trends have prompted some rethinking among feminists. Jan Peterson, executive director of the National Congress of Neighborhood Women, once felt NCNW's members "wouldn't feel comfortable pushing for welfare rights, feeling that it's better to be independent." She wrote in the

group's newsletter last spring, "When 93 percent of the recipients of welfare are women and children and half of the women over 65 live on less than \$3,000 a year, it is time we looked at poverty as a women's issue."

It's becoming clearer that for women jobs aren't necessarily the ticket out of the poverty that they are for men. According to *Inequality of Sacrifice*, a report released by more than 40 women's groups in May 1982, three out of five working women make less than \$10,000 a year. One out of three women with full-time jobs earns under \$7,000 a year. And while women head 15 percent of all American families, they head 50 percent of all poor ones (the current federal poverty line for a family of four is \$9,287).

But whether women's poverty is viewed as something old or something new, this look at women's precarious place above the poverty line is raising many feminists' economic consciousness.

—R.L.

This is the fourth in a series of articles on the women's movement. Series editors: Roberta Lynch and Emily Young

R

don't, because of their relationships to their families."

The women's movement—as a community—has certainly been less exclusive than many geographic or ethnic communities. Its higher standards for "good citizenship" lead many feminists of middle class backgrounds to ask themselves why more poor women are not among them.

But their concern does not help close the gap. Instead, according to Peterson, "guilt makes you stay away from the people you feel guilty about."

Can anything short of eliminating poverty in the U.S. change that? Some feminists think so.

Ricky Sherover-Marcuse runs workshops in San Francisco called "Unlearning Racism." "When people operate out of guilt," she says, "they look for reassurances from those they're guilty about that they [the guilt ridden] are good people. Then, the guilt feeling becomes the issue and the real issue gets neglected."

Her workshops encourage women to understand their guilt as societal conditioning.

Others, like Tish Sommers, who came to feminism through the civil rights movement, feel a certain *deja vu*.

"At first," says Sommers, "the women's movement was classless—or thought of itself as classless—like the civil rights movement did in the early days, when we 'right-thinking' types wanted to be colorblind. We refused to look at race. We thought by doing so we'd be creating differences. As a result, we found black separatism scary. It was rejection, for one thing...obvious hostility."

For some feminists, the seeds of class-blindness are now yielding a similar bitter harvest. But seeds only grow under proper conditions. In the case of the women's movement and poor women, as with the civil rights movement, the mass media has spread plenty of fertilizer.

Media and class

From her vantage point in Little Rock, Ark., Brownie Ledbetter, an early member of the National Women's Political Caucus and now a board member of WOMEN USA, a national communications network for women—sees the media's role all too clearly. "It happened in the civil rights movement. It's like what goes on when the *New York Times* reporter comes down to do his interview on Southern women, trying to show divisions. There's no question that the media plays us off against each other."

Indeed, as feminist author Barbara



Ehrenreich wrote in *Radical America* (Spring 1981), "[The media presents] feminism as something for women who are slender, intelligent and upwardly mobile, but if you're over 40, perhaps overweight and locked into a dead-end job or marriage, then you are more likely to see feminism as a put-down than a sisterly call to arms."

In the early '70s, NOW president Wilma Scott Heide was telling rooms full of feminists that the average woman is only "one man away from welfare." But not on camera. On the six o'clock news, feminists first burned their bras, then dressed for success. Meanwhile, says Madeline Lee, executive director of the low-income oriented New York Foundation, "The press pays no attention to poor women—unless their kids are burned or they're welfare frauds."

Even when feminists get the mass media to cover issues like rape, battering or sexual harassment on the job, they are cut from the credits. Beverly Olejnikow, a savvy young woman who grew up in a tough urban neighborhood near Boston, has feminist sympathies "job-wise, even

guy-wise." She puts spare change in cans for 9 to 5 and gives out the phone number of the nearby battered women's shelter. "But, I never knew they were feminists," says Beverly.

Reaganomics

The barriers, then, between feminists and the poor women they seek to reach are formidable. But while feminists and poor women outside the women's movement have been aware of their differences, Reaganomics has quickly lumped the two together. Almost immediately, Reagan's budget cuts devastated women, who headed 85 percent of all households on food stamps, 60 percent of families where children benefit from Title I aid to education and were 67 percent of Legal Services clients. Today, many women, whether served by school loans, affirmative action, food stamps, daycare or Medicare, find themselves under siege.

Their response could have been bitter infighting. For the most part, it was not. Instead, many feminists and poor women have become allies. And the nature of their alliance holds much hope for an improved, long-term relationship. In response to the New Right, the paralyzing "Why aren't we reaching poor women?" has begun to give way to the more promising "What can we do to work together in coalition on the issues that matter to us all?"

As Reaganomics shows that poor women are not a static group (see sidebar), there are signs that the women's

Continued on page 15

Even welfare women fight the blues

"Don't write about welfare women singing the blues," urged Karen Thomas of the Redistribute American Movement (RAM), statewide arm of New York City's Downtown Welfare Action Center. "Tell them, these days we're going after big game."

A year ago at Christmas, two RAM members gave Tiffany's (New York's most exclusive jewelers) a life-sized baby doll, frozen in a block of ice. Calling it a "gift from the city's poor welfare recipients to its rich welfare recipients," RAM's presentation dramatized the store's \$5.4 million tax abatement from New York State, won, says RAM, in exchange for a promise to "create or maintain five jobs."

RAM members aren't shy around the horse set, either. In 1980, just after racehorse owners ran off with some hefty tax breaks, 75 RAM members and supporters picketed the Saratoga Springs summer yearling auction. Their placards read: "Subsidies for colts and mares—welfare for the millionaires." This past summer, at Saratoga II, 120 RAM picketers were the top story on two of the three Albany-area evening TV news shows.

The group makes clear who's really on the dole in the U.S. Last April Fool's Day, RAM took on Big Oil. At high noon, more than 400 RAM members and supporters marched on Mobil's New York City corporate headquarters. Mobil had just made a bid to buy Marathon Oil. But RAM had other ideas for Mobil's windfall. Talks with Mobil are still underway on a proposal that the company underwrite 260 units of low-income housing in burned-out East New York.

At its peak back in 1968, the New York City chapter of the National Welfare Rights Organization numbered 5,870. Today, RAM has more than 5,000 members across New York State—compared to the state's 25,000 member NARAL chapter and NYS-NOW's 30,000 members.

What can women not on welfare do to support groups like RAM? Frances Fox Piven—New York City University professor and RAM supporter—once had this response: "Bear witness. Be there for rallies. Don't take over the fight. But take part."

—R.L.

LETTERS

In These Times is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

REAGAN'S TEST BAN

IN THE ATTACK AND COUNTER-ATTACK generated by President Reagan's proposed "outer space" missile-detection system, an important point has been missed. The system, if implemented by the U.S., clearly has offensive value by negating Russian ability to respond to threat. But if it were established by both the U.S. and the USSR, then the use of missiles would be at an end and disarmament could be commenced.

I'm not so much of an optimist to believe such an outcome is imminent. But at least the possibility of that outcome can be used to make the president's true intentions be clear. If he would pledge to make all technology in this project available to all other countries, or better, to seek collaboration with Russia in its development, then he would prove he really seeks a defensive breakthrough and disarmament. If he will not so pledge, the goal of gaining military superiority is plainly revealed.

Is there some way to put our president to this test?

—Richard Stone
Fresno, Calif.

NUCLEAR SCLEROSIS

CONCERNING THE MARCH 23 ARTICLE on decommissioning nuclear power plants ("In Short, Briefing: Utilities for a capital idea"), Dresden Unit 1—the first nuclear reactor funded by private capital—is not ready for decommissioning, but is approved for decontamination and return to operation by 1986.

Fortunately, Commonwealth Edison (the most stubborn of the nuclear utilities) has little money and even less time or inclination to attempt it. While only 22 years old, the plant sits there with an advanced case of hardening of the arteries ("crud" buildup in the pipes). And we sit looking at a model of nuclear power's history.

—Stan Campbell
Rockford, Ill.

APOSTASY

I ENJOY READING IN THESE TIMES FOR the hash it makes of Marxism and class consciousness. A couple of comments in the April 20 issue were especially amusing.

There was the one about Harold Washington's win in Chicago (ITT, April 20), where ITT commends him for his outreach to business (also endorsed by Crain's Chicago Business et al.). The editorial said, "...Any mayor—conservative, liberal or socialist—must help maintain or create a climate attractive to business." Now you know why Mitterrand is doing such a hell of a job! Or, for that matter, Coleman Young.

Then there was the argument in the letters section about "Bill" Colby. John Judis, who seems to earn his living through sentiments like this, approved of Bill being in the utopian pro-conventional warfare "freeze movement" because, for one thing, Bill was "on the left of the CIA." Bill must have also been the one who came up with the progressive aspects of the Phoenix Program!

Kidding aside, this kind of stuff is enough to make you sick. But the height of hypocrisy is, to lecture us on how "Marxist" it all is. If this is Marxism,

then I'm no Marxist! But what it really is, is capitalism with a human face.

—Gregory Gibbs
Chicago

500 PAGES

I HAD JUST COMPETED THE INDEX OF the first of a five-volume project, *The American Anti-Imperialist Movement: A Documentary History*, to be published by Holmes and Meier, when I came upon the editorial statement (ITT, April 6) that "In those days... when after defeating Spain in the war of 1898, the U.S. had overwhelming and undisputed power in the area and when the American people accepted domination and control of these 'inferior' people as a God-given right." I would suggest the editor read the first volume of *The American Anti-Imperialist Movement*, shortly to be published. He will discover more than 500 pages of speeches, resolutions and other expressions by blacks, labor organizations, socialists and middle-class Americans vigorously opposing "domination and control of these 'inferior' people."

—Phillip S. Foner
Emeritus Professor of History
Lincoln University, Pa.

Editor's note: I have read many such speeches and resolutions. There was a significant anti-imperialist movement at the turn of the century. But, unfortunately, my assertion reflected the views of a large majority of Americans at that time.

ARE YOU LISTENING, SEYMOUR?

SO SEYMOUR POSNER ("LETTERS," ITT, March 23) discerns neo-Nazism in certain phraseology in reporting about the Holocaust? Let's see if he discerns anything neo-Nazi in the following.

The name Palestine and the Palestinian flag and anthem have been proscribed by Israeli law. Mentioning or displaying any of them, even now, brings harsh prison terms. "Political" gatherings, large and small, are banned on the West Bank; violators are arrested or detained without charge or trial for long periods. For years, Amnesty International has denounced these practices as "serious human rights violations."

In South Lebanon, the Israelis are operating a mini-concentration camp where some 5,000 Palestinian and Lebanese, all Muslim, are herded. Captured in the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, they are accorded neither prisoner of war status nor rights due under the Geneva Convention, to which Israel is a signatory. Daily, reports are confirmed that Palestinian homes are seized and demolished by bulldozers; the land is used for settlements that the U.S. and UN have branded illegal.

Does anyone out there besides me hear the sound of jackboots on people's backs? Is Seymour Posner listening?

—Mitchell Kaldy
Rochester, N.Y.

I'M O.K., IT'S O.K.

IN STAUGHTON LYND'S ADMIRABLE review of *The Politics of Law: A Progressive Critique* (ITT, March 30), he issues several off-the-cuff suggestions to law students on how to protect themselves against "brainwashing." One is that law students should "write for the school law review but...not seek to be on it."

Why not? I can only guess that he fears law students would become infected by a prevailing atmosphere of elitism and hierarchy. While some law reviews may exhibit these characteristics in unpleasantly large doses, others

do not. Or perhaps the idea is that the route to law review is good grades, and good grades require a warping of one's personality. Leaving aside the merits of that assumption, few law reviews still admit members solely on the basis of grades. Most now also admit some students on the basis of writing ability.

In any case, there are several reasons why left-leaning law students might want to join the law review. For one thing, they may be able to influence the review's publication decisions so as to provide a scholarly forum for their ideas. Where, I wonder, would most of the authors of *The Politics of Law* be without law reviews to publish them?

Second, membership on a law review can give students the opportunity to put their principles into practice—or to make the attempt. Legal education may be training for the hierarchy, as Duncan Kennedy's essay in *The Politics of Law* argues, but the law review itself can be an oasis of democracy, at least in theory.

Also, like it or not, law review membership opens doors—and not just doors to corporate boardrooms. Public interest firms and law schools like to hire people with law review credentials. Beyond that, working on a law review can provide students with experience in thinking critically and shouldering responsibility that will always be valuable to them.

Perhaps I should reveal that I recently finished a term as editor-in-chief of a law review. But I don't think that's deprived me of all objectivity on the subject.

—Natalie Wexler
Class of 1983

University of Pennsylvania Law School

BRING BACK MAY DAY

AT ITS FALL CONFERENCE, WORKERS Education Local 189 adopted a resolution ending: "In 1983 May 1st falls on a Sunday, making it easier for labor to recapture May Day as it recaptured Labor Day this year. There is a practical benefit to be derived from encouraging its wide observance here, for today's circumstances call for the workers of the world to assert their common interest in arranging the use of this planet for human well-being."

That resolution received favorable consideration at various regional labor history societies. Singers Pete Seeger and Joe Glazer have written me of their enthusiasm for the idea. Plans are under consideration in various areas to celebrate World Labor Day, Sunday May 1 this year. If you are interested in getting a committee together in Chicago to observe it here, call me at (312) 227-3630.

As Local 189's resolution noted, World Labor Day was first celebrated on May 1, 1890. That date was set on the request of Samuel Gompers to the Paris socialist and labor congress to encourage demonstrations for the eight-hour day everywhere on the same day as it would be done in the U.S. Worldwide demonstrations were the right answer to the argument that adoption of an eight-hour day in any country would send the jobs to other lands. Today world-wide corporations threaten us that the work will go where it is done cheapest. We need to develop world labor solidarity to cope with them.

To celebrate World Labor Day on this one continent that has abstained, can reasonably be expected to yield these results: make employers easier to deal with; generals more willing to let some money go into road repairs instead of A-bombs; workers readier to make this planet the good world it can be.

—Fred Thompson
Chicago, Ill.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

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PERSPECTIVES

Left in Santa Monica loses a battle, but not the war

On April 12, in Santa Monica, Calif., mayor Ruth Yanatta Goldway was defeated in her bid for re-election to the City Council. The following report is by her husband, who was one of the architects of the coalition that enacted rent control in Santa Monica and won a majority on the council two years ago.

By Derek Shearer

SANTA MONICA, CA

IN AN ARTICLE HEADLINED "IN 'People's Republic of Santa Monica,' Voters Turn to the Right," the *New York Times* (Sunday, April 17) reported that the April 12 election "appeared to be a strong repudiation of the policies of a group described by its supporters as 'progressive' and by its critics as 'socialistic.'"

As with most mainstream reporting of politics in Santa Monica, the *New York Times* article is wide off the mark. While the local coalition Santa Monicans for Renters Rights (SMRR) did narrowly lose all of the three open council seats, SMRR won three seats on the elected Rent Control Board and defeated a real estate-backed initiative—Prop. A—that would have weakened the rent control law and opened the door to widespread condominium conversion. Most important, SMRR forced its more conservative opponents—the All-Santa Monica Coalition—to run on its issues and to concede that rent control is in Santa Monica to stay.

The *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* recognized this with an editorial titled "Victory in Defeat," complimenting SMRR on its innovative city programs and raising of civic consciousness and political participation (see excerpts). So, it appears that rent control and the city programs implemented by the council over the past two years will not be greatly affected by the election results.

But why did SMRR lose the council seats, including the seat of Mayor Ruth Goldway (who lost by fewer than 300 votes)?

The technical answer is turnout. Voters in the homeowner precincts of the city came out to vote in record numbers—more than 80 percent in some precincts—and the opposition slate carried these areas by margins of 80 and 90 percent. In the renter precincts, turnout dropped by 5 to 10 percent. Overall, city turnout was 46 percent, compared to 51 percent two years ago when SMRR won all four open seats on the council. With a turnout similar to two years ago, SMRR would have won a narrow victory, and Ruth Goldway would have held her seat.

Why did homeowners turn out in record numbers and why did some renters stay home?

The answer is two-fold and goes to the heart of the difficulty of enacting pro-

gressive social change in the U.S.

The opposition—a coalition of the downtown business interests, the local newspaper, real estate forces and homeowner groups—motivated and mobilized their homeowner base. They did this by attacking the city government on several fronts over the past two years and by organizing door-to-door in homeowner areas. The motivating force was fear. Organizers of one group called Concerned Homeowners repeatedly charged that the SMRR majority on the council planned to rezone the R-1 home areas to allow for multi-family dwellings, and that soon they would be forced to rent their spare rooms to minorities. Rumors were spread that the city government planned to enact controls on the resale price of private homes. The Homeowner newsletter also claimed that the city was planning to set up "energy police" who would demand access to people's homes to check their bathrooms for low-flow shower heads.

The conservative local newspaper, the *Santa Monica Evening Outlook*, played a key role in spreading these spurious charges and evoking feelings of fear among homeowners. In editorials, in letters to the editor columns and in biased news reporting, the paper did everything it could to paint the city council majority as unreasonable, harsh radicals, bent on destroying the private property of the middle class.

Other media coverage of the city government also enflamed such fears. After the SMRR victory two years ago, opponents printed up red bumper stickers with a hammer and sickle and the words "Welcome to the People's Republic of Santa Monica." When the CBS news show *60 Minutes* filmed a report on Santa Monica's new government, they highlighted the bumper sticker and discussed the council with words like "Communist." Letters to the *Evening Outlook* and articles in the Concerned Homeowners newsletter continually charged that Santa Monica had been taken over by a Communist coup. In 1982, during Private Property Week, local realtors rented an armored personnel carrier, parked it in front of city hall and paraded with signs saying "Soviet Monica."

Even though the city council made efforts to treat all areas of the city equally and to improve police and sanitation services in homeowner as well as renter areas, the ideological attack struck a responsive chord with homeowners.

The SMRR council members and the SMRR organization (not really an organization, but a coalition of groups including the local chapter of the Campaign for Economic Democracy and the Santa Monica Democratic Club), underestimated the depth of anger and fear among homeowners that was generated by the conservative attacks. SMRR leadership tended to view its most vocal opponents such as the *Evening Outlook* as Reaganites and right-wingers who were out of touch with the majority of voters. SMRR ignored the cumulative effect of these day-in and day-out attacks and made no attempt to reach out directly, through neighborhood meetings or coffees in homeowner areas, to explain its programs and policies. SMRR did redesign and expand the city's newsletter that goes to all residents, but this did not counter the daily reporting of the *Outlook* and the sensationalist national press.

Reformers who win elections, such as Kucinich in Cleveland or SMRR in Santa Monica, and who seriously try to carry out a program of structural reform and

democratization of urban life should expect to be attacked by the media and by business interests like banks, developers and the real estate industry. There is no point in bemoaning this fact. It is a given in American politics. These forces are strong and they dominate most urban governments. Recognizing this reality, people on the left must go directly to their constituents with a commonsense message. SMRR built support this way among renters around the issue of rent control and renters' rights, but it did not sufficiently reach out to homeowners with its message on other urban policies (most of which benefit homeowners and renters alike).

The other weakness of SMRR is organizational. SMRR is a coalition of independent groups, each with its own agenda, not a political party. After SMRR's victory two years ago, some members proposed that SMRR convert itself into a mass membership organization—a kind of city-based party with regular conventions, an elected leadership, an office, paid organizers and staff. The proposal was vetoed by the coalition's groups and SMRR operated at low visibility until this spring's election. SMRR members spent long hours as newly appointed members of city boards and commissions, and SMRR's leadership—its council and rent board members—put in long hours at low pay working in the city government. But SMRR as an organization did not capitalize on the base of support it had developed in the winning 1981 campaign.

While conservatives were producing

newsletters for homeowners, organizing meetings and block clubs and calling rallies to attack SMRR's policies, SMRR did not organize its renter based into building committees, block clubs or precinct organizations. There was no SMRR newsletter to explain new city policies or to motivate SMRR supporters by reporting on the conservative attacks on the city government. Most important, SMRR's natural leadership—its elected officials—met regularly with SMRR members, but not systematically with the average voter.

When the time came for the spring election, the lack of an organized base among renters showed up at the polls in the lower renter turnout. SMRR's opponents were smart enough to concede the issue of rent control and renters' rights. In fact, in renter areas the conservatives handed out literature calling themselves

The political reason for losing was a failure to take seriously the fears and doubts of homeowners.

"the real renters' rights team," and pledged to defend the rent control law.

As in the past, SMRR's opponents outspent them almost five-to-one. The conservatives hired a professional campaign management firm and receives hundreds of thousands of dollars from real estate-related interests, while SMRR relied on low-paid staff, volunteers and thousands of small contributions from renters. But this is the nature of American politics—reformers are almost always outspent and outgunned by professionals.

LOS ANGELES
HERALD

EXAMINER

Victory in defeat

Santa Monica gives L.A. a lesson in lively politics

Politics in a democracy can be unforgiving. Today's reformers can become tomorrow's unpopular pols. That was one message of this week's election in Santa Monica. In an extremely close contest, the city's voters turned out Mayor Ruth Yanatta Goldway, the figurehead of the liberal Santa Monicans for Renters Rights (SMRR) coalition that dominated Santa Monica politics these past four years. Personally distressed as she may have been by the returns, however, Goldway was philosophical: "Whether or not our individuals won," she said, "the issues we stand for clearly won."

That seems about right. Although voters rejected Goldway and retained two of her arch foes on the City Council, the renters' coalition still holds a four-to-three council majority. More significantly, in a city with a heavy preponderance of renters, the coalition's controversial rent-control policies received a strong vote of confidence: all three coalition candidates for the Santa Monica Rent Control Board were elected and a landlord-financed initiative that would have

allowed tenants to purchase their apartment units went down to defeat. In other words, Santa Monica voters—whose turnout, as a percentage, was twice as high as in Los Angeles—wanted to keep the reforms, if not all the reformers—a message that was not lost on the anti-coalition victors.

Still the SMRR can take considerable credit for transforming a sleepy, apathetic suburb into a cauldron of citizen activism. The coalition's leadership, political skills and agenda energized people on all sides of a variety of issues: zoning, crime, senior citizens, parks and recreation, the arts, women. And there were positive results. New development guidelines required businesses to provide such amenities as daycare centers, affordable housing and street and sewer repairs in return for the privilege of doing business in Santa Monica. An extensive network of neighborhood watch groups, plus a big increase in the police budget, helped boost police morale and reduce the residential burglary rate by 27 percent.

Waking the sleeping giant of Santa Monica carried risks, of course, as Goldway and her allies discovered Tuesday night. But, however much we may have disagreed with some of the coalition's policies, Santa Monicans now have a city government that isn't afraid of risk, that is seeking new answers to old problems and that actively involves citizens of all stripes in public debate and decision-making.

For this alone, Santa Monica is indebted to Goldway and the SMRR. We only wish Los Angeles had half as much political life these days.

The technical reason for their defeat in the council elections was low turnout among renters this time around.

PERSPECTIVES

Let Jeane Kirkpatrick talk, and then answer her

By John Judis

IN THE PAST FEW MONTHS, campus demonstrations have blocked appearances by UN ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick. This activity has caused criticism in various publications as a violation of free speech.

On February 15, Kirkpatrick began a series of lectures at the University of California, Berkeley. A group of hecklers protesting American support for the government of El Salvador led her to cancel a subsequent lecture on campus. At Smith College, a group protesting Kirkpatrick's invitation as commencement speaker succeeded in pressuring Smith's president to rescind the invitation.

Neither of these events involved a denial of free speech—demonstrators have as much right to protest a speech as the speaker has to make it—but there is an important difference between the two cases. It was perfectly appropriate for students at Smith to campaign against the choice of Kirkpatrick as speaker at their own commencement, and for Smith's president to bow to their wishes.

But the Berkeley case was different. Kirkpatrick had been invited there by the University president and the student body president, and attendance was voluntary. A standing-room-only crowd of 800 attended the first lecture and the demonstrators' disruption smacked of a

moral arrogance and callow anti-intellectualism that can only discredit the opposition to Reagan's foreign policy.

Universities have been the scene of opposition movements of the past 30 years—from the civil rights and antiwar movements to the movement for a nuclear freeze. Students and faculty at universities can have their thoughts subjected to criteria of truth, not simply expedience, and students are allowed, if only fitfully, to escape the often numbing influences of the daily battle for survival. Like churches, universities provide free social space. They nourish a certain "culture of resistance."

An essential part of their ability to generate a reflective idealism is the tradition of free inquiry and discussion. Students and faculty have fought long and sometimes successfully against the subordination of university curricula and activities to narrow corporate or military objectives and against the suppression of professors or speakers in the name of current political orthodoxy. This was the issue in the Berkeley free speech movement. By disrupting Kirkpatrick's appearance—rather than using it as the basis for renewed questioning of the premises of U.S. policy—the demonstrators put themselves directly in opposition to tradition at their own peril. They invited supporters of Kirkpatrick's views to deflect the issue from one of human rights in Central America to one of free speech on the Berkeley campus.

Clearly, the demonstrators acted with



their gaze fixed backwards on the Vietnam war movement. During the Vietnam war, campus demonstrators at Berkeley and elsewhere disrupted appearances by official government spokespersons. In many of these cases as well the movement would have better spent its time exposing the fallacies of those speakers—and indeed this was the usual tactic. But if some of these actions were appropriate, the analogy with the present still does not hold.

The anti-Vietnam war disruptions occurred after a long period of debate and large-scale direct American involvement in the war. And they occurred in the wake of the 1964 presidential campaign

in which Lyndon Johnson had promised not to escalate the war and in the wake of the continual exposure of administration lies. Now, however, the U.S. has not sent thousands of troops to El Salvador—and the public is still poorly informed about the situation there. It may be clear that the administration is lying about involvement in Nicaragua, but there is no comparable public awareness that it has lied generally about its intentions—to prevent a revolution in El Salvador. In fact, debate about American policy in Nicaragua and El Salvador is just beginning in earnest in Congress. The left should enter this debate, not try to cut it off.

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Why do many women cling to conservatism?

Right-Wing Women
By Andrea Dworkin
Coward, McCann & Geoghegan
255 pp., \$6.95 paper

By Laura Cottingham

Andrea Dworkin's *Right-Wing Women* confronts a major question for feminists: why aren't all women feminists? Coming on the heels of the defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment, *Right-Wing Women* examines why so many women choose the guardianship of the right and reject the promises of the women's movement.

The threat of male violence, Dworkin argues, keeps many women tied to traditionalist values offering "shelter, safety, rules and loves." Women's fears are real, Dworkin maintains, but the right manipulates these fears by directing women's anger away from the men they know and toward Jews, blacks, gay men and lesbians.

Like Dworkin's earlier work: *Woman Hating* (1974), *Our Blood* (1975) and *Pornography: Men Possessing Women* (1981), *Right-Wing Women* is written as a polemical, self-conscious political treatise. It isn't journalism and it isn't academic prose. Dworkin writes, as Gloria Steinem noted, like an Old Testament prophet. In the tradition of the jeremiad form, Dworkin's books present a pessimistic view of the present and a calamitous view of the future. Consequently, Dworkin's ideal reader is someone who accepts her fundamental premise (the atrocity of male domination) and reads this book for validation and clarification as well as a call to action.

Of all the feminist theory produced in the U.S. since the early '70s, Dworkin's has been some of the most scathing and most powerful in its unrelenting desire to force readers to recognize the pervasiveness of male brutality. While her previous work attacked misogynistic institutions—rape, Chinese footbinding, witch burnings, pornography—*Right-Wing Women* argues that the existence of these institutions, as well as more subtle forms of female subjugation, keeps most women reliant on the promise of male protection.

The failure of feminism.

Dworkin's assumptions about the failure of feminism underlie her argument in *Right-Wing Women*. As she asks in the final section on anti-feminism: "Can a political movement [feminism] rooted in a closed system of subordination—with no political support among the power-based political movements—break that closed system apart? Or will the anti-feminism of those whose politics are rooted in sex-class power and privilege always destroy movements for the liberation of women?"

Dworkin maintains that con-

servative women remain conservative not only because of the right's promises, but because feminists can't deliver on the promises they make—and the right more often can. According to Dworkin, as long as male power remains intact, feminist revisions in the social and legislative structure remain dependent on support—not only are victories subject to total elimination, they can also be transformed from serving women to serving men.

A chapter on abortion most clearly articulates this point. Dworkin connects male advo-

cacy for abortion to the conservative woman's fear that the availability of abortion makes women more available to men on a sexual level.

"Right-wing women," Dworkin writes, "are not dazzled by the promise of abortion as choice, as sexual determination, as women's control of her own body, because they know that the promise is crap: as long as men have power over women, men will not allow abortion or anything else on those terms."

Abortion also threatens a woman's status, Dworkin argues, because sex and reproduction remain the primary yardsticks of a woman's worth. In a chapter entitled "The Coming Gynocide," Dworkin presents evidence of society's disregard for women who don't bear children (especially old women), and women who bear children society doesn't want (black and poor women). She cites proposed legislation like the Family Protection Act and the Human Life Amendment, as well as existing cutbacks in Social Security, Medicaid and food programs designed to punish black and poor women for bearing children society doesn't want, and to reward white middle-class or rich women to bear the kind of children a white, male-supremist system demands: white babies conceived in marriage.

"Public policy in the U.S.," she states, "increasingly promises to protect middle-class or rich white women owned in marriage who reproduce and to punish all other women."

As abortion jeopardizes a woman's childbearing value, homosexuality, Dworkin contends, jeopardizes a woman's status as sexual and reproductive being. Dworkin explains the conservative woman's hatred of homosexuality to be a fear of extinction: "Homosexuality... makes women expendable: the one thing women can do and be valued for [childbearing] will no longer be valued, cannot be counted on to be that bedrock of women's worth. This is true of lesbianism and male homosexuality, in that both negate women's reproductive value to men; but male homosexuality is especially terrifying because it suggests a world without women altogether—a world in which women are extinct."

In an analysis that relies on

the Old and New Testaments as well as anecdotal references to conversations with right-wing Christians at the 1977 National Women's Conference in Houston, Dworkin traces the connection between homophobia and anti-Semitism to Saint Paul. The Christian hatred for homosexuals and Jews—a hatred seldom distinguishing between the two groups—is a hatred founded on Christianity's (Paul's) desire to offer a more masculine religion, a more tightly controlled system of male power than early Judaism offered. Dworkin observes that homosexuality receives no special repudiation in the Leviticus chapter of the bible: adultery and some other sexual violations were perceived to be as bad. But in the New Testament—especially Paul's Romans chapter—homosexuality is vilified. Dworkin writes:

Paul understood that his pacifist God nailed in exemplary masochistic sexual passion to a cross had to offer converts masculinity: otherwise, Christ's suffering would not play in Peoria. ... It was Paul's genius to link ineffective and effeminate Jewish law and Jews with homosexuals worthy of death. It was Paul's

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While Dworkin maintains that all Biblical sexual codes (both Old and New Testament) work in the interest of furthering male dominance—a strong prohibition against male homosexuality is necessary to make sure that women are the only targets of forced sex. If only women are the regulated objects of sexual aggression, then men need not fear it.

"In a male-supremist system," Dworkin writes, "men cannot simultaneously be used 'as women' and stay powerful because they are men."

Christianity runs throughout Dworkin's book, even when not mentioned directly, because the promise of the New Right is the traditional promise of Christian matrimony: wives and mothers will be respected and cared for, and men will behave. The connection surfaces most obviously when Dworkin writes of the more notorious right-wing women, Anita Bryant, Marabel Morgan and Ruth Carter Stapleton:

In Bless This House, Anita Bryant describes how each day she must ask Jesus to "help me love my husband and children." In The Total Woman, Marabel Morgan explains that is only



Marabel Morgan (above) offers God and home cooking as the solution to women's problems with men.

genius to exploit Christ as the prototypical Jew—he suffered like a female, it was his passion, an ecstasy of agonized penetration—and then to have the resurrection of Christ symbolize a new nature, a Christian nature: it dies, then rises. The son, born a Jew, was worthy of death—homosexual as Jews are, effeminate as Jews are, with their weak law and tenuous masculinity.

through God's power that "we can love and accept others, including our husbands." In *The Gift of Inner Healing*, Ruth Carter Stapleton counsels a young woman who is in a desperately unhappy marriage: "Try to spend a little time each day visualizing Jesus coming in the door from work. Then see yourself walking up to him, embracing him. Say to Jesus, 'It's good to have you home, Nick.'"

Right-Wing Women is one of the first feminist analyses to take seriously the choices conservative women make. But if, as Dworkin states, conservative women are "making the best deal they can," the question for feminists remains: how do we fundamentally change things to offer them something better?

Laura Cottingham works with Women for Women, a lesbian-feminist reproductive rights group in New York City.

Conservative women's hatred of homosexuality is a fear of extinction, Dworkin explains—homosexuality makes women expendable: the one thing women are valued for is childbearing and this will no longer be counted on as that bedrock of women's worth.

Sylvia

by Nicole Hollander



LIFE IN THE U.S.

SCIENCE

Reagan gives researchers chills



Hugh Kaufman was trailed.

By Keith Schneider

WASHINGTON

Many scientists working on government projects dealing with public health, worker safety and industry pollution say they are under seige from the Reagan administration. They charge administration appointees with heavy-handed interference in research and say that free and open scientific debate is being actively stifled.

"There is a continuous contempt in this administration for the free flow of information and ideas dealing with public health and safety issues," says David Vladeck, an attorney with the Public Citizen Litigation Group, which has defended several prominent government scientists against attempts by administration officials to remove them from their positions.

Many researchers, demoralized by the pressure to keep quiet and worried about their careers, have left the National Cancer Institute (NCI), the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), the National Institute of Occupational Health Safety and Health (NIOSH), the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) and the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS).

Last year, for example, three staff physicians and a technical director resigned from OSHA because of disagreements with OSHA administrator Thorne G. Auchter.

"We all felt similar things," says Dr. Patricia Sparks, formerly acting director of OSHA's Office of Occupational Medicine and now medical director for Burlington Industries in Greensboro, N.C. "In the past we had been involved in the decision-making process, and all decisions were made on the basis of well-established health and safety effects. After the new administration came in we noticed a change. Decisions were being made for political reasons, instead of on the basis of health risk to workers."

But Mark D. Cowan, Auchter's chief deputy, called the charges "ridiculous," adding that Auchter had made a special effort to include OSHA's three doctors in decision-making procedures that "they usually

wouldn't have been invited to attend."

Long-range chilling effect.

"The effects of this chill will last far beyond the Reagan administration," says Sheldon Samuels, health director for the industrial unions of the AFL-CIO and a member of the National Cancer Advisory Board. "The capacity of the U.S. government to respond to health and environmental dangers is being obliterated on ideological grounds."

Samuels and other critics see a pattern of scientists and technical experts being targeted by industry groups opposed to strict health and safety regulations, including the following examples:

- Dr. Anthony Robbins, 41, former director of NIOSH, became the administration's first victim. He was fired by Richard Schweiker, Secretary of Health and Human Services, March 4, 1981, a few days after "Washington Watch," the monthly regulatory publication of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, published an article attacking him as a social activist with a "radical, anti-business" posture. Schweiker defended the firing as being "in the public interest."

On his dismissal, Robbins says, "It was a signal...health research is most damaging to an administration that doesn't want to do anything to upset things.... It's as if the whole field is oppressed and depressed during this administration."

- Dr. Melvin D. Reuber, 51, former director of the Experimental Pathology Laboratory at the Frederick Cancer Research Facility, was forced to resign one of the nation's key cancer research positions in April 1981, after warning that malathion, an insecticide being used to combat the Mediterranean fruit fly in California, was carcinogenic.

Reuber's resignation came after Dr. M.G. Hanna, director of the Frederick facility, wrote a blistering reprimand accusing him of involving himself in "controversies that have both scienti-

fic and economic impact." Although the letter was delivered to Reuber's laboratory in an envelope marked "personal and confidential," most of it was published in an influential petrochemical industry newsletter. Reuber has filed a \$7 million lawsuit against officials of NCI and Litton Industries, which operated the facility, charging they conspired to "ruin him professionally."

ing to nail him for a long time. With the Reagan people in place, they felt the time was right."

- Dr. Peter F. Infante, 41, one of OSHA's top scientists and director of the agency's Office of Carcinogen Classification, almost lost his job in June 1981 because of a letter he wrote to the director of the International Agency for Research on Cancer. His letter challenged a recent



The U.S. Chamber of Commerce called Dr. Anthony Robbins a "radical," and Richard Schweiker fired him.

Reuber had spent nearly two decades as a respected government scientist and was one of the most influential opponents of the chemical industry. Between 1972 and 1976 he was the EPA's primary expert witness at the historic hearings to ban five highly toxic pesticides. A congressional source carefully watching the case says, "It all came down to timing. Industry and some government people have been wait-

Scientific debate is being actively stifled by the administration

agency panel decision claiming there was insufficient evidence to call formaldehyde a carcinogen.

Infante argued that formaldehyde is a carcinogen, a position supported by many scientific studies and by OSHA itself before Reagan became president. Infante was sent a letter of dismissal after an attorney for the industry-backed Formaldehyde Institute wrote OSHA asking: "How do you control members of the bureaucracy who seem to be operating freely within and without government?"

Rep. Albert Gore (D-Tenn.) found out about the firing and called a congressional hearing to explore the matter. Gore accused OSHA chief Auchter and Infante's supervisor Dr. Bailus Walker of "a blatant attempt to rid the government of a competent scientist who happened not to agree with an industry whose profits are at stake." The move to fire Infante, Gore said, would have a "chilling" effect on the integrity of all scientists "who may be forced by political henchmen to abandon widely held views in favor of the line currently advocated by industry."

Three weeks later, Auchter wrote Infante a conciliatory letter dismissing the charges, but Infante still feels he is being closely watched.

Whistle blower.

- Dr. Adrian Gross, 59, a government pathologist since 1964 and now a senior science advisor in the EPA's Hazard Evaluation Division, was demoted last May, one week after he wrote a 48-page memo to his superiors accusing them of illegally aiding two major chemical companies in their efforts to register permethrin, a widely used insecticide that Gross termed a "potent carcinogen."

EPA toxicologists and the chemical's manufacturers say permethrin is not a carcinogen, but after a three-year inquiry, Gross and other EPA investigators said they found several deficiencies in the research supporting the company's claims.

Assistant administrator of the Office of Pesticides and Toxic Substances Dr. John Todhunter denies that the EPA is in collusion with the companies to register permethrin, but he acknowledges problems with the data. "We will not do anything with permethrin until we have completed a full review of the research," he said.

- Dr. Irwin H. Billick, 52, former director of the Division of Environmental Research at the Department of Housing and Urban Development, was fired in

Continued on the facing page

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EUGENE, O R

May 20-22

Pacific Northwest Labor History Association Annual Conference, University of Oregon, Eugene. Phil Foner, Jimmy Herman, Henry Stamper. "Economic Depression: Then and Now." Contact: Labor Education and Research Center, U.O., (503) 686-5054.

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May 27-30

The Midwest Radical Therapy Conference. MWRTC theme: "Emotional Literacy—Political Power," is designed to begin a dialog between community organizers and alternative therapists. Workshops include: Unlearning Racism, Socialist Feminists Organizing, Mediations, and Peo-

ple's Movement in Song. For more information, write to Sue Brown, 2101 Pickett, Springfield, IL 62703, or call (217) 529-8148.

ATLANTA, G A

May 28-29

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Continued from facing page

July after HUD officials decided the research taking place in his lab was unnecessary. Billick was working on a long-term study monitoring the health effects of lead in paint and gasoline.

Assistant Secretary of Administration at HUD Judith Tardy defended the dismissal by arguing that "the data is already there." But Ellen K. Silbergeld, chief toxics scientist with the Environmental Defense Fund, said Billick was fired and his program terminated "at a time when the administration is trying to discount the importance of lead in gasoline." She also said Billick was the only government researcher with detailed figures on the correlation between lead in gasoline and lead in urban children's blood.

• Hugh B. Kaufman, 39, a toxic waste expert in EPA's Hazardous Site Control Division and the government's chief investigator in the Love Canal case, discovered last summer that he was being secretly tailed by investigators for the agency's Inspector General's office. EPA spokesman Byron Nelson called the investigation "routine" and "pay-roll related" and said that as a re-

sult of the investigation Kaufman was docked two days pay. But Kaufman insists he did nothing wrong and says he is considering a suit against EPA.

The investigation was started three months after Kaufman told a congressional subcommittee that if he were a Soviet agent trying to poison America, he wouldn't change the U.S. hazardous waste program "one iota."

Almost a month later, during an interview on *60 Minutes*, Kaufman charged that "EPA is not about to protect you if your state or local government won't."

Subsequent events have proved Kaufman right on that point and the recent revelation that Interior Secretary James Watt was allowing the Republican National Committee to screen possible appointees to scientific posts seems more evidence that the Reagan administration puts its pro-business ideology ahead of both objective scientific inquiry and the health of Americans. ■

Keith Schneider is an editor with the South Carolina Feature news service. This story was made possible by a grant from the Fund for Investigative Journalism.

Women

Continued from page 9

movement is changing as well. Growing national grassroots membership groups like the Brooklyn-based National Congress of Neighborhood Women, San Francisco-based Older Women's League (OWL) and Women for Racial and Economic Equality (WREE), headquartered in New York City, have emerged. They emphasize bread-and-butter issues. OWL seeks health insurance for women too young for Medicare and too old to qualify for affordable insurance. For WREE, daycare is a priority. And NCNW has, among its goals, safe transit and housing.

Their sense for how to involve poor women goes beyond the issues. "A middle-class woman will go to a meeting because she cares about the issue," says NCNW's Peterson, "even if she knows no one there. Poor women, working-class women, go together."

And they often stick closer to home. Displaced homemaker ad-

vocate Barbara Monty remembers, "Growing up poor in a mill town, I would not go to the highlands or the college. You don't expect yourself to be able to go out of your area."

So the San Francisco's Women's Exchange, a project that seeks jobs for displaced homemakers, operates out of a storefront in San Francisco's Mission district, much as NCNW offers college classes in a mixed industrial and residential Brooklyn neighborhood, a block from the main shopping strip.

Coalitions, not outreach.

Other groups, like New York City's Coalition for Abortion Rights, Against Sterilization Abuse (CARASA), while still hoping for more poor women as members, have taken to building coalitions with existing poor women's organizations, such as the Bronx Welfare Action Coalition (BWAC). BWAC's members filled in CARASA's about life on welfare, which led to the two groups exchanging correspondence in their newsletters, as well as participating jointly in the 1980 South Bronx counter-Democratic National Convention and side by side in a major anti-

Reagan demonstration in New York City.

Working with people in coalitions takes off the pressure to recruit them. Instead, maintains Monty, "If there's something in it for people and publicity about it, they'll go in."

Once these coalitions solidify many myths may shatter—including many poor women's fears that all feminists are anti-motherhood or lesbians—once it becomes clear that "not all feminists are white and have three kids. But some feminists are lesbians and it's important to present lesbianism as a viable, positive alternative," Monty argues. And coalitions could break new ground on broad issues of common concern—like whether all women, regardless of income, should have the option to stay home and raise children—with adequate compensation.

Such coalitions hold out the women's movement's best hope for working with more poor women. And, predicts WREE's Norma Spector, "as people see they're being heard, their voices will grow louder."

■ *Rochelle Lefkowitz is editing an anthology on the feminization of poverty.*

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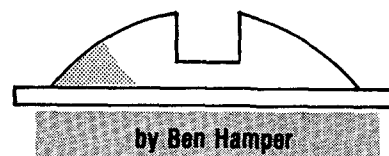
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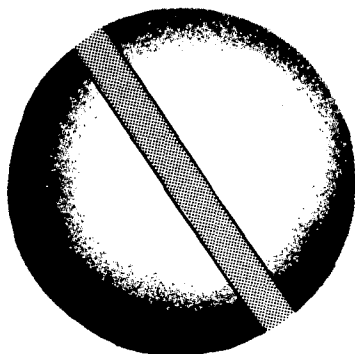
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Fat cats, shoprats and a cool kitty



by Ben Hamper



ver the past two years at the Chevy truck plant in Flint, Mich., there has been a vigorous movement by management to improve quality. Knowing full well that sales and consumer faith hinge on a well-built product, the scheming bossmen have tinkered deep into the night for ideas that will hopefully prod all of us good assemblyline rats to perform better workmanship.

There is certainly nothing wrong with this. In fact, it's only to be expected that the corporate big boy braintrust, with backs planted firmly against the wall, would hump their beanies off in an attempt to get a rise outta the ole quality meter. Quality means buyers. Buyers mean sales. Sales mean new carpet, a stole for Madge and an addition on the back of their 14-room, three-car-garage suburban dream castle.

The truck plant has fiddled with various quality-minded plots. These concepts range from the customary rah-rah "Build One for the Gipper" strategy to the voodoo scare tactics of "Here Come the Japs" to the "Reward the Good Child with a Cookie" theory. Some of these game plans are so downright farcical, one would be tempted to chuckle if it weren't for the realization that it's your brain that these follies are being foisted upon.

For instance, two years ago it was decided that what this quality campaign needed was a mascot. Yup, that's right, a walkin', talkin', livin', breathin' character who would don a carefully designed costume and parade throughout the plant shaking hands, patting backs and generally spreading the infective mirth brought about by high quality. Conceived in what must have been a moment of pure visionary enlightenment, the plan was to dress the mascot up as a large cat. (That's right, cat as in kitty.) Fittingly, this creature was tagged "The Quality Cat."

But somewhere along the line, a brilliant mind decided that "Quality Cat" was sort of a dull title and so a big contest was developed in an attempt to give it a clever name. The only stipulation was that the name had to tie in with the quality theme. Hundreds of crafty rivetheads, screw jockeys and assorted shoprats immediately clunked their noggins to bits in an effort to christen the cat. Management was to reward the most creative of all entries with (get this) a week's use of a company truck. Who said these guys were chintzy?

The eventual winner of the "Name the Quality Cat Sweepstakes" was a worker who, in a stroke of sheer blue-collar genius, stumbled upon the inspired moniker "Howie Makem." Get it? And who says all of us shoprats got bypassed when they handed out the smarts?

So Howie would make the rounds, poking his floppy whiskers in and out of every department and everyone's spirit was lifted immensely when Howie prowled by. When the company invited the workers down to the audit area for a look at their finished products, there was Howie prancing about, slurping out free coffee and even boogeying to dance music with some of the

more outgoing supervisors. Howie may have begun as yet another company plot to amuse the tired truck plant legions, but he evolved into a symbol of unbridled worker enthusiasm. A cool cat in a cruel world.

But alas, poor Howie must not have inspired too much quality, because for the past year or so I haven't seen hide nor fur of him. At first I was merely puzzled. Had Howie Makem left the production line behind and moved into a cushy desk job with a litter box in the corner? Did he simply retire to the good life and put himself out to stud? Or worse yet: had reliable Howie Makem, the honest embodiment of American toil and pride been, *laid off*? Was it in the newspaper? Maybe I missed it: "The working class the world over is in shock today as it was announced that Chevrolet's beloved quality cat, Mr. Howie Makem, was officially laid off due to personnel cutbacks at General Motors' Chevrolet Truck Plant. Management and Union members alike were deeply saddened by the announcement and a grieving Douglas Fraser told reporters: 'The work force of this country has lost a dear comrade and a special brother who provided light in an era of darkness.' Mr. Makem is reported to

be in seclusion at his Catnip Hills Estate outside of Lapeer, Mich., where a night-long vigil is being held by throngs of somber linemates."

At least for management, it was time to get back to the drawing board. Another inventive quality concept was needed.

This year's model is the "Quality Drinking Glass." Supervisors approached each of the workers with a little mid-job pep talk and informed them that if the quality level reached such and such a figure, they would receive, no strings attached, a lovely drinking glass memento that they could take home to show relatives and maybe prop up against their bowling trophies and snapshots of Fido. The glass even tugs at the old heart-strings, because emblazoned on the side was the profile of none other than Howie Makem, rest his purring little soul. Geez, I got all choked up and thought I was gonna bawl. With renewed determination, I knocked the piss right out of each and every rivet that reared its shiny little scalp in my direction.

Sure enough, the boys and I hit our goal. One day after lunch, the bossman came lugging a case of "Quality Drinking

Glasses" down the line. "Thanks for the good job Hamper, here's your cup." Another guy came right up behind him wanting to buy my glass off me for a buck. He mumbled something about starting a collection. I told him to get his grubby paws outta my face, no one could have my sacred Howie Makem drinking glass. The nerve of some guys...

I figure the whole investment in these glasses probably ran GM, say, maybe 35 bucks. But, of course, it's the thought that counts. After all, when someone works hard all day in a smoky chamber full of sludge, noise, armpits, beer breath, Pall Malls, psychos, manic depressives, grease pits, venom and gigantic stalking kitty-cats, why not give the guy a glass? You can bet he'll need a drink.

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